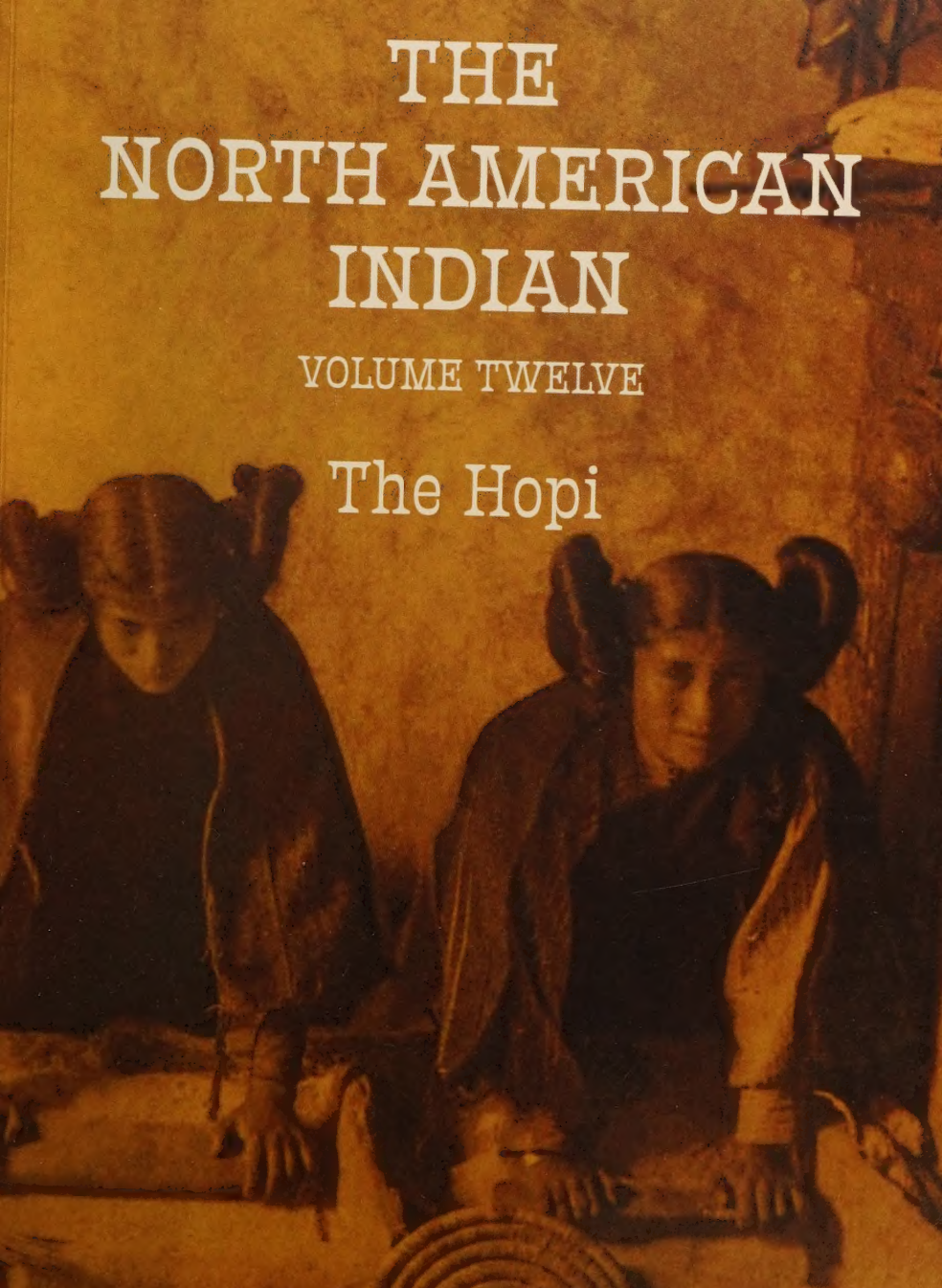
THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

VOLUME TWELVE

The Hopi



WRITTEN AND ILLUSTRATED BY

EDWARD S. CURTIS

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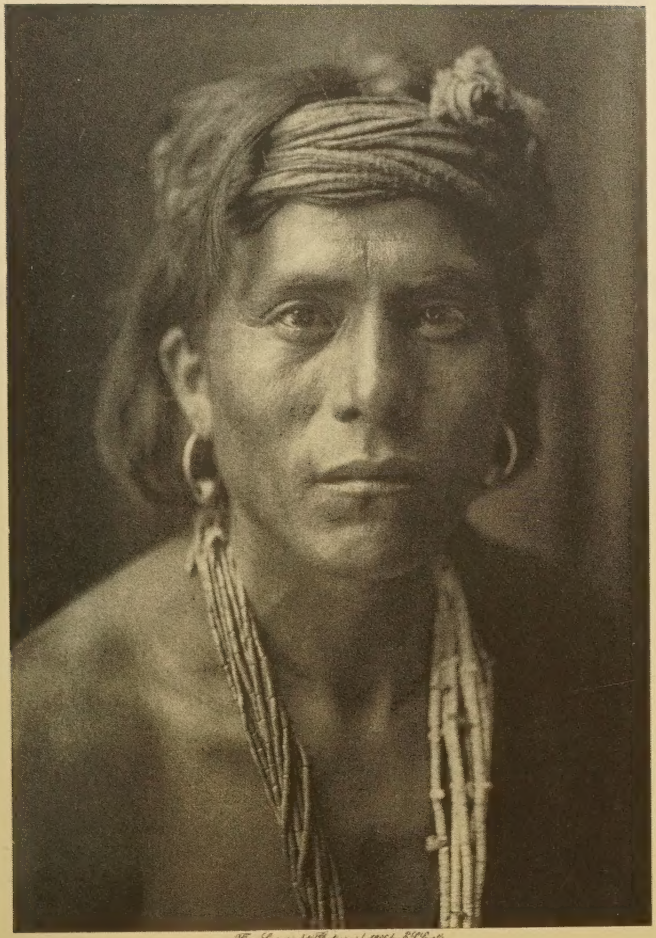
VOL. XII-*a*



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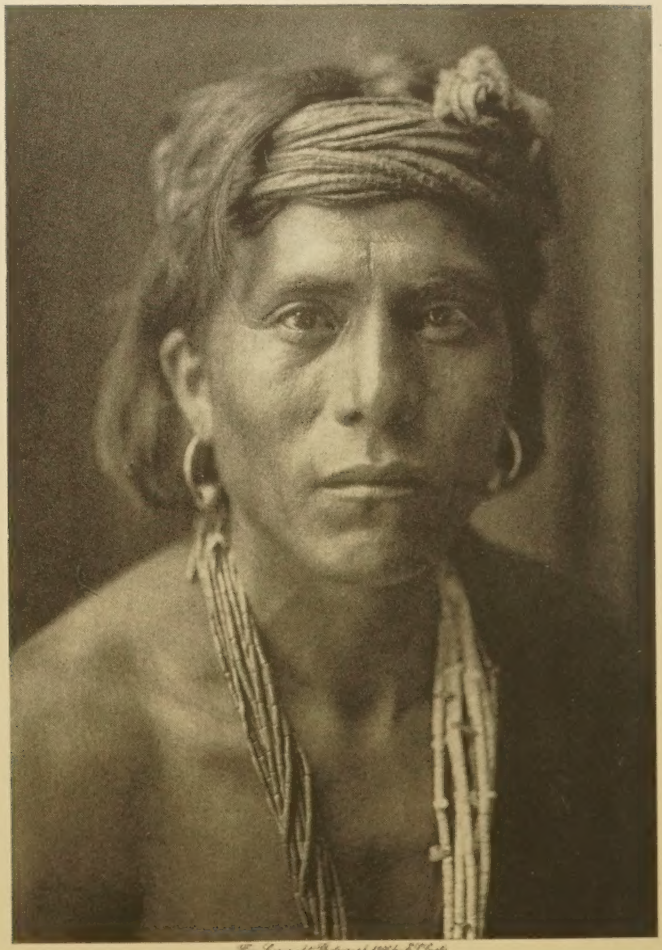
ÑÓVA - WALPI



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NÓVA - WALPI

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

BEING A SERIES OF VOLUMES PICTURING
AND DESCRIBING

THE INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES, THE DOMINION OF CANADA, AND ALASKA

WRITTEN, ILLUSTRATED, AND
PUBLISHED BY
EDWARD S. CURTIS

EDITED BY
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE

FOREWORD BY
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

FIELD RESEARCH CONDUCTED UNDER THE
PATRONAGE OF
J. PIERPONT MORGAN

IN TWENTY VOLUMES
THIS, THE TWELFTH VOLUME, PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-TWO

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Photogravures by Suffolk Engraving and Electrotyping Company, Boston

ALPHABET USED IN RECORDING INDIAN TERMS

[The consonants are as in English except when otherwise noted]

a as in father
ai as in aisle
e as in they
ę as in net
i as in machine
ɪ as in sit
o as in old
ô as in how
ö rounded e, as in German böse
u as in ruin
û as in nut
ų as in push
ü rounded û, as in French peu
hl the surd of l
ṇ as ng in sing
q as kw'
x with the tip of the tongue slightly retracted, giving the impression of a faintly perceived r following the fricative
' a glottal stop

INTRODUCTION

TO collecting the data and making the pictures for this volume far more than the usual time has been given. My first visit to the villages of the Hopi was in the year 1900, at which time a substantial number of the pictures were made. I again visited these interesting people in 1902, and further work was done during the years 1904, 1906, 1911, 1912, and 1919. It is most fortunate that a great many of the pictures were obtained so long ago; for, conservative as these people are, there has been a great change in their mode of life, hence many of the photographs here presented could not have been made in more recent years. It should be noted that the copyright dates do not always coincide with the year in which the photographs were made.

Walpi, the best-known village of this group, received first consideration in conducting the investigation, and all statements not specifically referring to other villages may be considered as applying to this pueblo.

There is a subtle charm about the Hopi and their high-perched homes that has made the work particularly delightful. This was especially so in earlier years, when their manner of life indicated comparatively slight contact with civilization. Certainly no other place in the United States afforded a like opportunity to observe native Americans living much as they did when the Spanish explorers first visited the desert land of our Southwest.

The Hopi are strictly sedentary people depending primarily on cultivated crops for their food. This fact makes a study of their ceremonial and religious life particularly interesting, for we see here a striking illustration of the effect of habitat and food supply upon ceremonial development. They are deeply religious, and their life is devoted largely to ceremonial rites, the most spectacular of which is the splendidly dramatic Snake dance.

In collecting and preparing the material for publication I have had the continual collaboration of Mr. W. E. Myers, who has shown an extraordinary devotion to the work and has spent much time with the Hopi people.

EDWARD S. CURTIS

THE HOPI

VOL. XII — I

THE HOPI

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

THE Hopi are without doubt among the most interesting of our surviving American Indians, and one of the very few groups recently living in a state similar to that of a hundred years ago. For the anthropologist the complexity of the ethnic elements that in the last three and a half centuries have combined to produce the modern Hopi, and the astonishing richness of their religious ceremonies, present a field crowded with opportunity. Artist and traveller are invariably entranced with the picturesque desert environment of the Hopi, with their ancient, many-storied, cliff-perched pueblos, their dramatic dances and artistic ceremonial costumes, their pleasing pottery and basketry, and no less pleasing manners.

They call themselves *Hópitŭ*, the Peaceable People, and peace-loving they have always been. True, their history contains pages darkened with the annals of warfare, but their military activities were invariably either for defence of their fields and flocks from the forays of Ute and Navaho, or what they conceived to be just punishment visited upon some component members of the nascent Hopi people. Affability and sunny disposition are apt to be one's first impression of the dominating traits of Hopi character, at least at Walpi, the goal of most Caucasian visitors. Presume on this affability, and you encounter cold reserve, ill-concealed disapproval, or outspoken resentment. The Hopi can be persuaded and led, if you convince his reason; failing this, you will hardly drive him. More than once in his relations with the Government he has shown that force and authority have no terrors for him when he believes himself unjustly assailed. Numerically weak, poor in worldly goods, physically small, he possesses true moral courage.

From the time of the Conquistadores the Hopi have been commonly known as Moqui, an alien term of opprobrium originating

probably in Zuñi *Ámu-kwe*. Apparently cognate terms are found in various Keresan dialects, as Laguna *Mó'ßña*. The Hopi heartily dislike the designation, which, they believe, originated in the error of the first Spanish visitors, when they mistook the Hopi word *móki*, dead, for the tribal name.

Although the Hopi are composed of elements that must have spoken several diverse tongues, their speech is readily recognized as a dialect of the Shoshonean language, which in various forms was spoken in a large part of the Great Basin between the Rocky mountains and the Sierra Nevada, in southwestern Oregon, and in southern California even to the coast and on Santa Catalina island; and which furthermore is undoubtedly allied to the great Aztecan language. A linguistic map would represent the Hopi as an isolated people surrounded by alien tongues.

Since they first appeared in history in the sixteenth century, these Indians have occupied their present habitat in northeastern Arizona. Their neighbors on the north, west, and east were the predatory Navaho, alternately hostile and friendly, now raiding the Hopi fields and sheep ranges, now visiting the pueblo festivals, sometimes even receiving Hopi migrants and marrying them. From the north and east came also the warlike Ute, to combat whom the Hopi more than once called in Tewa settlers from the distant Rio Grande. Southward the country was overrun by nomadic bands of Apache, who frequently swooped down from the mountains south and west of the present Winslow. About a hundred miles to the southeast were the Zuñi villages, the romantic Seven Cities of Cibola of the Spanish adventurers; and beyond them to the Rio Grande, and particularly along that stream, were numerous pueblos, with all of which the Hopi held more or less intercourse. Far to the west, in and about the Grand cañon, were the Havasupai and Walapai, both of the Yuman stock, whom Hopi traders regularly visited for the purpose of exchanging yarn and blankets for deerskins, and who in turn annually brought roasted mescal and piñon-nuts to the Hopi.

The reservation of 3863 square miles lies in the eastern watershed of the Little Colorado, but at no point does it extend to the river. In fact there is no perennial stream within its borders.[1] The country is typical of the semi-arid Southwest. Broad sandy wastes are broken by rocky buttes and fantastically eroded mesas rising abruptly

[1] Since this statement was written, Oraibi wash has been eroded by freshets down to strata so nearly impervious that the water, instead of flowing underground, now courses along like any proper stream.

From Copyright Photograph 1905 by E.S. Curtis

THE TRAIL TO SHIPAULOVI

THE TRAIL OF SHIRAULEAU

from the general level. Some seventy-five miles to the southwest the San Francisco mountains are visible, snow-covered in winter. High temperature prevails during the days of summer, but the nights are refreshingly cool. As the country lies at an elevation of about six thousand five hundred feet, the winter nights are fairly rigorous, but delightful, sunny days are the rule. A more healthful climate it would be difficult to find, and the harmonious pastel shades of sand, rock, and vegetation, the huge, cottony billows that float aloft on a summer's afternoon, the glorious cloud effects at sunset, the distant ranges of lavender mountains slowly transformed into turquois as the lowering sun sinks behind them, the incredible blueness of the sky and brilliance of the stars, take hold of the heart and call one back again and again.

Considerable moisture is stored in the soil by snowfall, and the frequent heavy rains of midsummer, coursing down the slopes toward the washes, are guided into the cultivated fields and suffice for the deep-rooted Hopi corn and beans.

The vegetation is characteristically desert. Sage and greasewood dot the sand in clumps, and the latter furnishes the bulk of the fuel. The principal trees are the juniper and the piñon, the latter yielding edible nuts and house timbers. The distant mountains are clothed with coniferous forests, in which pines predominate, but these were of little concern to the Hopi except at the period of the Spanish missionaries, when the padres induced them to transport on their backs pine beams from San Francisco mountains.

The fauna of the Hopi country and the immediately surrounding region included antelope, deer, elk, mountain-sheep, cougar, wolf, coyote, fox, wildcat, bear (both *Americanus* and *horribilis*), beaver, porcupine, badger, cotton-tail and jack-rabbit, condor, eagle, buzzard, various hawks and waterfowl, and wild turkey.[1]

There are now eight Hopi pueblos, all of them on the tops of mesas. On East mesa are Walpi (Wáhl-pi,[2] "gap place") and Sichomovi (Si-ʃšómo-vi, "flower mound place"); on Middle mesa, Mishongnovi (Mûsáṇěnûvi), Shipaulovi (Sûpŏlavi), and Shongopavi (Soṇó-pa-vi, "rush spring place"); on West mesa, Oraibi (Ozaívi), Hotavila (Hó-tvělŭ, "juniperwood slope"), and Pakavi (Páka-vi, "reed place"). Hotavila and Pakavi were established only within the last few years by dissatisfied factions from Oraibi. At East

[1] Coronado observed captive turkeys at Zuñi and the Rio Grande pueblos, but Espejo in 1583 noted that the Hopi had none.

[2] *Wálo*, gap. Only at Shipaulovi and Shongopavi is this name pronounced, with greater correctness, Wál-pi.

mesa also is Hano (Háno), a Tewa pueblo founded early in the eighteenth century by emigrants from the Rio Grande. Not one of the Hopi villages occupies the site on which it stood at the opening of the historical period in the middle of the sixteenth century.

The first white men in the Province of Tusayan, as the Spaniards called the Hopi country, were Captain Pedro de Tovar, Fray Juan de Padilla, and a small company of horsemen and foot-soldiers, who in 1540 were sent to explore the region by Coronado, then at the Zuñi villages. To quote from the account of the Coronado expedition by Castañeda:

"They informed him about a province with seven villages of the same sort as theirs, although somewhat different. They had nothing to do with these people. This province is called Tusayan. It is twenty-five leagues from Cibola. The villages are high and the people are warlike.

"The general had sent Don Pedro de Tovar to these villages with seventeen horsemen and three or four foot soldiers. Juan de Padilla, a Franciscan friar, who had been a fighting man in his youth, went with them. When they reached the region, they entered the country so quietly that nobody observed them, because there were no settlements or farms between one village and another, and the people do not leave the villages except to go to their farms, especially at this time, when they had heard that Cibola had been captured by very fierce people, who traveled on animals which ate people. This information was generally believed by those who had never seen horses, although it was so strange as to cause much wonder. Our men arrived after nightfall and were able to conceal themselves under the edge of the village, where they heard the natives talking in their houses. But in the morning they were discovered and drew up in regular order, while the natives came out to meet them, with bows, and shields, and wooden clubs, drawn up in lines without any confusion. The interpreter was given a chance to speak to them and give them due warning, for they were very intelligent people, but nevertheless they drew lines and insisted that our men should not go across these lines toward their village.[1] While they were talking, some men acted as if they would cross the lines, and one of the natives lost control of himself and struck a horse a blow on the cheek of the bridle with his club. Friar Juan, fretted by the time that was being wasted in talking with them, said to the captain: 'To tell the truth, I do not know why we came here.' When the men heard this, they gave the Santiago so suddenly that they ran down many Indians and the others fled to the town in confusion. Some indeed did not have a chance to do this, so quickly did the people in the village come out with presents, asking for peace. The

[1] See pages 117 and 158 for the present continuation of this custom

Approaching the Gap at Walpi

Approaching the Gap at Wadi

captain ordered his force to collect, and, as the natives did not do any more harm, he and those who were with him found a place to establish their headquarters near the village. They had dismounted here when the natives came peacefully, saying that they had come to give in the submission of the whole province and that they wanted him to be friends with them and to accept the presents which they gave him. This was some cotton cloth, although not much, because they do not make it in that district.[1] They also gave him some dressed skins and corn meal, and pine nuts and corn and birds of the country. Afterward they presented some turquoises, but not many. The people of the whole district came together that day and submitted themselves, and they allowed him to enter their villages freely to visit, buy, sell, and barter with them." [2]

The village visited by Tovar was undoubtedly Awatobi (Awât-ovi, "bow high-place"), the most easterly of the Hopi settlements and now a ruin on the point of Antelope mesa nine miles southeast of Walpi. At that time Walpi was the only one of the present East Mesa pueblos, and it was not on its modern site but on the northwestern slope of the mesa. Its ruins are now known as Kuchaptuvela (Kŏtsap-tevĕlŭ, "ashy slope"). Sikyatki (Sikyât-ki, "bitter house," so called in reference to the alkalinity of the water, or "yellow house," in allusion perhaps to the color of the rocks), now a mere mound of a ruin at the southeastern base of the mesa, had already been destroyed by the people of Walpi.

Cardenas, another of Coronado's subordinates, was commissioned by the general to visit the great river of which the Hopi had told Tovar, and after a friendly reception and entertainment by the natives, he pushed westward with the guides and the provisions they gladly furnished him, and discovered the Grand cañon of the Colorado.

Spanish exploration in Tusayan made no further progress until 1583, when Antonio de Espejo marched to "Aguato" (Awatobi), and recorded the fact that there were five large "Mohoce" pueblos. The Hopi were still in awe of the strange beasts ridden by the Spaniards, who, quick to take advantage of the situation, warned them that unless they built a stone corral for the horses, the animals would become very angry and devour them. Under direction of the soldiers the natives built a stone wall, which was so arranged that it could be used defensively. Indian tradition declares that

[1] This is an error. The Hopi cultivated cotton and wove fabrics in prehistoric times.

[2] Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, in Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1896, pages 488 – 489.

many tortures were perpetrated in the effort to extract the secret of the gold mines supposed to exist in the country.

In 1598 Juan de Oñate, governor of New Mexico, led an expedition from the Rio Grande to the Hopi country. The identity of the pueblos then existing is thus established by Hodge:

"In a *testimónio* forming part of the 'Memorial sobre el descubrimiento del Nuevo México y sus acontecimientos — Años desde 1595 á 1602' (Doc. Inéd. de Indias, XVI, 207), which was made in the interest of Oñate, and which, although apparently pertaining to Chamuscado's discoveries more likely relates to the entrada of Espejo, the following Hopi pueblos are mentioned: Aguato (Awatobi), Gaspe (Gualpe, Walpi), Comupavi (Shongopavi), Majanani (Mishongnovi), and Olalla (Oraibi), thus accounting for all the pueblos occupied by the Hopi at the close of the sixteenth century and indeed for many years later." [1]

Thus far, for a century and a half, contact with the white race had been at very long intervals and of a most casual nature; but with the attempt to Christianize the natives a new era dawned. The old gods were threatened. In 1629 an expedition left Santa Fe for the purpose of founding churches in the western pueblos, and after accomplishing the first step of their program at Acoma and Zuñi, the Spaniards proceeded to Awatobi, which was christened San Bernardino de Ahuatobi in honor of the saint on whose birthday they arrived. Fray Francisco de Porras was placed in charge of the new mission, and the lay religious Francisco de San Buenaventura assisted him. The two other priests of the party were doubtless given posts at Shongopavi and Oraibi, for at the time of the Pueblo uprising in 1680 these two villages had missions, the former with a *visita* at Mishongnovi, the latter a *visita* at Walpi. The Walpi of that period is now the ruin Kisakobi, on the terrace below the point of the mesa where the present village stands. Thus each of the five villages was offered religious instruction.[2]

But from 1629 to 1919, missionary work among the Hopi has never been a sinecure.

"Porras is declared to have immediately cured a case of blindness in a Hopi boy by spitting on his hand, rolling a little mud, and placing it on the eyes of the lad while uttering the word '*Epheta*' — resulting in the conversion of a thousand of the Indians. . . . But the old men, evidently enraged at the loss of power through the adherence

[1] *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides*, translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, annotated by F. W. Hodge and Charles F. Lummis, Chicago, 1916, page 258.

[2] Ibid., page 207.

Curtis Copyright Photograph 1924 by E. S. Curtis

RETURN OF A TRADING PARTY

RETURN OF A TRADING

of so many of their tribe to the missionaries, poisoned some food, which the Father ate. Realizing his fate, he immediately went to Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura, who administered the last sacraments. . . . The date of his death is June 28, 1633." [1]

The missionaries probably had little success. The Hopi resented being forced to carry building timbers from the mountains and drinking-water from distant springs. The traditionists agree that sometimes a priest would demand that a girl be sent to his house, and this was another source of irritation. Like most Indians they probably were tolerant of the new religion and mildly interested and amused by the dramatic features of its ritual; but when the priests attempted to suppress their age-long rites by forbidding the planting of pahos (plumed prayer-sticks), the seeds of revolt were sown. The Hopi mind is unable to conceive that the people can prosper without offering these supplications to their numerous deities. So, although they continued to plant pahos, surreptitiously if necessary, the occurrence of an unusually dry season and consequent partial failure of crops pointed to the attempted overthrow of the old customs as the source of the evil. The Hopi were ripe for the uprising that had been brewing throughout the entire province of New Mexico, from the upper Pecos to the Little Colorado.

In 1680 messages were exchanged between the chiefs, and at the appointed time there was a concerted attack on the members of the hated race wherever found. In the Hopi country every mission was burned and probably every Spaniard killed. On the Rio Grande success was less complete only because of the relatively large number of colonists, soldiers, and priests, but even so the contest ended in the utter abandonment of the province until the year 1692, when Diego de Vargas reconquered the country. It was in this interim that throughout the Pueblo region such villages as were not already established on mesas were moved to these elevated sites as a measure of defence against the sure vengeance of the Spaniards; and numerous bands fled from the Rio Grande to the less accessible Hopi country. Many of these subsequently returned, but others became permanent residents in the west. The Hopi had no collision with Vargas, who in truth acted with commendable and unusual forbearance and received the submission of the Hopi, and of all others who tendered it, without thinking it necessary to inflict punishment.

In 1700 the priest Garaicochea found the mission at Awatobi

[1] Hodge, *op. cit.*, page 207, after Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pages 211–213, ed. 1871.

rebuilt by the inhabitants, of whom he baptized seventy-three.[1] But he was warned not to proceed to the other villages, where hostility to the strange religion was so strong that in the following November Walpi, Mishongnovi, and Oraibi, spurred on by the extremely hostile Tewa refugees from the Rio Grande, accepted the invitation of the Awatobi chief, Tapólo, and united to destroy the apostate faction, whom they regarded as sorcerers. The conservative element of Awatobi, including the chief, and most of the females, were incorporated in the population of the three avenging villages, and Awatobi has ever since remained a ruin.[2]

For nearly two centuries longer the Hopi remained practically out of contact with the white race. Occasional travellers and Mexican traders and raiders visited them, but the degree of their isolation during all this period may be deduced from the fact that the Snake dance, the most spectacular of all Indian dramatic performances, was first mentioned in print in 1881 by Charles A. Taylor, a missionary among the Hopi, although the first extended account of the ceremony is that of Captain John G. Bourke, U. S. A., published three years later.[3]

The character of the relations of the Hopi with the Mexicans may be illustrated by the following narration.

About the year 1862 came the third successive season of crop failure, which the Hopi attributed to the evil ways of the people, especially as regards adultery. During each of the three seasons only enough corn was harvested to furnish seed for the next planting, and at the end of the third year many of the people left the country, some going to Laguna, Jemez, Taos, San Felipe, and Zuñi, and others joining the Navaho bands. What little corn they had harvested they cooked and carried along for food on the journey. Few in those days had burros, and men, women, and children trudged along through the snow. In the various pueblos to which they went the women ground corn for their involuntary hosts, and the men performed whatever labor could be found for them.

Only the few families having enough corn to last over the winter remained at home, and among these, as supplies became exhausted, beads and clothing were bartered for corn, until at the end a valuable

[1] Fewkes, *Expedition to Arizona in 1895*, in Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1898, page 601

[2] See the native tradition by Hani, a descendant of Tapólo, pages 86 - 89

[3] See *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, X, No. 4, page 276, New York and Cincinnati, April, 1881, also Bourke, *The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, New York, 1884.

From Copyright Photograph 1904 by E. S. Curtis

On a Walpi Housetop

On a Wall in Ireland

woman's dress brought only four or five small ears. Dry cactus fruit and grass seeds were gathered, and when these failed the starvlings prowled among the neighboring ruins and dug in the piles of refuse for old bones, which they boiled. Women would snatch the last grain from their weeping children, and some cases of cannibalism occurred.

About the month of February people from Rio Grande pueblos, Isleta, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe, as well as some Mexicans, brought loads of corn on horses and mules, which they exchanged for blankets, deerskins, shells, beads, and children. Many Hopi had died, and the living were gaunt creatures prowling about the deserted houses and the refuse heaps, searching for a chance grain of corn or a melon seed. Crows perched on the empty houses, and coyotes skulked about the village streets.

Saqístiwa (the narrator) left his sister and her family at Walpi, bought a load of food at Jemez, and returned with others on foot by way of old Fort Wingate and Zuñi. Snow covered the ground, and they travelled from early morning until nearly midday, and then rested while the snow was soft, resuming their journey in the afternoon and halting after dark. Many people on their way to Zuñi were seen. East of Awatobi they overtook three women and three children who had started for Zuñi, but, becoming exhausted, had given up and were returning to Walpi. Learning from Saqístiwa that some eastern Indians and Mexicans were coming with loads of food, the women and children then turned their faces eastward once more to meet the expected caravan. Saqístiwa completed the journey from Jemez to Walpi in eight or ten days, with a load of corn on his back. The distance in a straight line is about two hundred and twenty miles, but the route actually covered was, of course, much longer.

Two years after the famine an Oraibi man named Tawáhĕvi planned a certain revenge because someone had seduced his wife. Hoĭntiwa, Políhinniwa, and Póhkya assisted him. Póhkya was sent to a Mexican settlement near Santa Fe to invite the men to visit Oraibi and steal the women and children. The Mexicans arrived during the Soyal ceremony. They came through Keams cañon, detoured to the north of East mesa, passed down Oraibi wash to the site of the present village Hotavila, and camped where the Oraibi day-school now stands. Here they remained four days, coming frequently into the village and looking about. At noon on Totókya day of the ceremony, while the men were in the kivas

making pahos, the Mexicans again entered the pueblo. It is believed that the four conspirators had agreed to meet them, for each of the four made an excuse to leave the kiva in order to dispose of the refuse of his paho-making. But in the open streets, before the eyes of the women and children, the Mexicans set upon the four and killed them, in order, as the Hopi now believe, that after the raid the conspirators might not be alive to give evidence against them.[1] The Mexicans then hurriedly drove together thirty or forty children and one woman, and took them down into the valley, where they rounded up all the sheep in the vicinity. The shepherds ran for their lives, some of them fleeing to Middle mesa, where the inhabitants flocked out to view from a distance the passing of the raiders with their slaves and spoil. That night the Mexicans camped at Tĕvĕskya, a spring west of Walpi, and some of the people ventured down from that village to view the captives sitting despondently about the campfire. Másа, who understood Spanish, recognized the woman captive as a clanswoman of his and saw among the children his niece, who had been living at Oraibi since the famine. They implored him to take them up to Walpi, but he replied that he could do nothing immediately, promising however to see what could be accomplished in the morning. Early next day the Mexicans moved to Tawá-pa ("sun spring"), where they butchered the sheep and bartered the meat for corn, meal, deerskins, blankets, and moccasins. Nearly all the animals were thus disposed of in exchange for goods that could be transported on pack animals. Before they departed, Másа ransomed his niece at the price of a Navaho boy, whom his family purchased from Nûváti for the use of about five acres of farming land. The woman they were unable to redeem, because of the lack of means.

After concluding their trading, the Mexicans started for Keams cañon, camping at the spring where Keam later built his first establishment, and ten men of Walpi followed them, intending if possible to rescue the children after nigthfall. They planned to kill the Mexicans while they slept, but nothing could be done. They thought the Oraibi men would surely come to help them, but none appeared except Wíkvaia, husband of the captive woman. They openly visited the camp and sat up all night, trying to screw their courage

[1] It is more than likely that there was no conspiracy on the part of these four men, but rather that their going out at this time was a mere accident and the Mexicans were forced to kill them in order to carry out their design. The general belief that the raid was planned by invitation is to be expected of the Hopi mind, which can see deep design in the purest accident.

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A Visitor

Form Copyright Photograph 1926 by E.S. Curtis

to the sticking point, but they doubted their ability to kill all the Mexicans before some awoke. The next day they returned home and the raiders went on.

A week or two after these events some people from Oraibi went to Santa Fe, and soon letters came to Walpi from the Taos chief and from the officials at Santa Fe, summoning the Walpi chief Chino; for the Oraibi men were asserting that Walpi had planned the raid and had urged the Mexicans to accomplish it. With about thirty men Chino set out.

Oraibi had spread among the eastern Pueblos the false accusation, and when the party reached Laguna they were warned not to go farther, lest they lose their lives, for the government officials at Santa Fe were said to be greatly incensed. It was learned that the Taos chief was the one who had reported to Santa Fe the accusation against Walpi. At Albuquerque Chino's party was coldly received by the natives, and they pushed on to Taos. Sĕmplĕ, the chief, was not well-disposed toward them, but the people fed them and commiserated with them because they were to be imprisoned. They counselled Chino not to be afraid, but to tell the officials a straight story. A meeting was held that very night, and an official came up from Santa Fe. The Oraibi men made their accusation, and Másа, the interpreter for Walpi, informed the council that the Oraibi people themselves were to blame, and showed the innocence of Walpi. Then the Taos chief reprimanded Oraibi for mistreating Walpi and laying a false accusation against them, and Másа related how the Walpi men had waited at the Mexican camp for assistance from Oraibi. The official then asked the Oraibi men if they would go the next day among the Mexican settlements and identify their children, but they were afraid, and the Walpi party volunteered to undertake it as a further proof of their innocence. With official letters directing the Mexicans to release the captives without protest or resistance, they in four days secured and brought to Santa Fe all except a single boy, who had been taken down the Rio Grande. Másа and three others, however, recovered him in two more days.

In the meantime another sister of Saqístiwa, who during the famine had gone to Zuñi, had been sold to some Rio Grande Indians, who in turn had sold her to a Mexican family living above Albuquerque; and Saqístiwa, following her from place to place, had reached Santa Fe, where he had been thrown into prison on the strength of the Oraibi accusation against Walpi. After the refutation of the charge, he was freed and received a letter ordering the

release of his sister. He found five Navaho girls held as slaves by the same Mexican family, and was informed that they all had run away three times, but always had been recaptured and beaten, and finally shorn of their hair.

After the recovery of all the Hopi children, the government official engaged Taos men to carry them on burros as far as the next pueblo below. A soldier with a letter of authority accompanied the party, and so from village to village they were taken as far as Laguna. Most of the Hopi men were afoot, and none had more than one burro. From Laguna all travelled on foot, because the Oraibi people were unwilling to pursue the indirect route through Zuñi. The Walpi men met at each village a very different reception from the cold greeting that had been given them on their way to Santa Fe.

When the government representative at the Navaho agency at Fort Defiance began to persuade the Hopi to take up modern methods of farming, Tûvi, an Oraibi man, was one of the few to fall in with his plans. But the chief, Lólolma, was opposed to the new order of things, and the two quarrelled. The chief said, "If you are going to follow the white man's ways, I do not want you to stay here." So Tûvi took his wife and went to Provo, Utah, where he was baptized by the Mormons. After some years, about 1880, he returned and built a house at Moenkapi, and a few Oraibi families joined him. He afterward moved back to Oraibi, where he died, and the other families followed him. Later an old woman, Nasílewi, took possession of his Moenkapi house, and the other families returned from Oraibi. There are now about eighteen houses in the village. The name of Tûvi is the original of "Tuba," the settlement near by, formerly occupied by Mormons, now the seat of a government school.

The Hopi reservation was established in 1882, but until the beginning of the twentieth century the people were practically independent of governmental authority. Since that time official supervision, assistance, and sometimes blundering interference in harmless religious and personal customs (witness a futile decree that Hopi men must wear the hair short), have become more and more effective, and the result is a gradual abandonment of the old order. In 1906 not a maid at East mesa but scrupulously kept her hair in the picturesque squash-blossom whorls indicative of the unmarried state. In 1912 the change in this single respect was startling. Many saw no indecorum in allowing their locks to hang loosely. More and

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HOTAVILA.

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II. TAVELA

more the people are permanently taking up their residence in detached houses in the valleys. They are closer to their fields and sheep ranges, and so the change is a material gain; but it needs no prophet to foretell the eventual and probably not distant abandonment of the pueblos. And when that time arrives, the ancient ceremonies and home customs of the Hopi will be only a memory.

Nor is it difficult to predict what will be the last stronghold of Hopi culture. For some years prior to 1906 there was a gradually widening rift between two factions at Oraibi, the conservative and the liberal. The determination of government officials to enforce education crystallized sentiment, and the party that favored active resistance to restraint packed up their goods and chattels, marched forth from the pueblo, and built the new village Hotavila about four miles distant. Here they live with only the unavoidable minimum of contact with the white race, whom they unostentatiously but cordially hate. For them a few officious zealots are the American people. Their chief, recently released after a prison term of several years, during which no doubt he had abundant time to ponder on the futility of a Hopi insisting that his children be educated in his own ancient fashion when some individual two thousand miles away ordered him to cut their hair and deliver them at the schoolhouse, is a thoroughly embittered man, quiet in his bitterness, but unyielding. And that spirit pervades all his people. Henceforth they will formally obey orders, because they know of the force that lurks behind them, but many years will pass before they enter into the spirit of American education for their children. Meanwhile they cling to the old order. Desperately poor, they are diligent farmers, surpassing all other Hopi, and as they have more than enough of the best agricultural land on the reservation, lying on the mesa and adjacent to the village, and not in the distant valleys, there need be no apprehension as to their future. The pueblo is most unattractive. Few of the houses rise above a single story, and there is a rather disheartening air of newness.

On the same mesa and about a mile from Hotavila is Pakavi, which was established by another Oraibi faction a few years after the founding of Hotavila. The houses are all of one story and are ranged along both sides of a single street. The inhabitants are less morose than their neighbors, and while the village, in its exterior, resembles a Mexican settlement rather than a Hopi pueblo, it has an appearance of order and neatness in distinct contrast to Hotavila.

Deserted by these two factions, and by many families who have

built houses at different places in the valley, Oraibi is practically an abandoned village.

So much for recorded Hopi history. It remains to detail the steps by which various migrant groups in centuries past gradually assembled in Tusayan. Mostly the information to be had on this subject is legendary, but the latest of these movements are known also from documentary evidence. How much of fact lies in these clan legends, who can say? The present writer would not be understood as taking the ground that all of the patently unmythical parts is historical truth. On the other hand he does not reject them *in toto*. He believes that the roots of these legends are embedded in the truth, that they actually indicate the directions from which various groups of people started in a series of wanderings that finally brought them together in the Hopi country.

At the dawn of this legendary period we find the Bear people living at Tûkínovi, now a small ruin on East mesa north of the Gap. They are said to have come from the east.

At Tokonabi (Tokónavi) on Colorado river lived the Cougar and the Dove people, and these were joined by the Horn people from a region still farther north. The son of the Cougar chief, returning from a journey down the river, brought home a Rattlesnake girl, who became his wife and founded the Rattlesnake clan, which eventually predominated in this group. Together the Rattlesnake and the Horn people departed southward and in time settled at Wukoki (Wûkó-ki, "great house"), now a group of ruins on Little Colorado river northeast of Flagstaff, where they found the Squash and the Flute people.

The Horn people now separated from the Rattlesnake, Squash, and Flute people, and turning back northward established themselves at Moenkapi (Mŭnkap-ki, "small-stream house") in the wash of that name northwest of Oraibi. Later the Little Colorado pueblos were abandoned by all the others, who in company travelled northeastward to Oraibi wash, where they separated. The Squash people founded successively Mûnyá-ovi ("porcupine high-place") near the present Oraibi, and Chukubi (Chûkŭ-vi, "pointed place") a mile northeast of the present Shipaulovi at Middle mesa. The Flute people, after leaving the Little Colorado, settled at Lengyaobi (Lĕnáṇ-ovi, "flute high-place") about thirty miles northeast of the present Walpi, where they were later joined by the Horn people from Moenkapi wash. Before the Spanish occupancy the consolidated Horn and Flute people had left Lengyaobi and settled at Kwastapabi

PAKANI

TARAVI

(Qâsta-pa-vi ————"spring place") about two miles northeast of Wipho spring and six miles northeast of Walpi. Here they remained for an extended period.

Meanwhile the Rattlesnake people, who left the Little Colorado in company with the Squash and the Flute people, had established themselves in the valley midway between East and Middle mesas. Their next movement was to Kuchaptuvela (Kŏ̊šap-tevĕlŭ, "ashy slope") on the northwestern slope of East mesa.

While these slow migrations were taking place, another eastern group, the Firewood people, had been approaching, and after many years had finally established Sikyatki at East mesa. It was during the occupancy of Kuchaptuvela and before the Spanish *entrada* that friction developed with Sikyatki, which resulted in the overthrow of that town and the dispersal of its population.

At the time when the Rattlesnake and the Horn people were in Tokonabi, the Squash and the Flute people at Wukoki, and the Bear people at East mesa, the Tobacco people built Honû-vi ("juniper-shoot place") among Hopi buttes, and later Awatobi. Their former home was in the south.

By the year 1629, when Spanish missionaries began their labors, Ashy Slope at East mesa had been abandoned in favor of Kisakobi (Ki-sák-ovi, "house ladder high-place") on the terrace below the modern pueblo, and here the Snake and Bear people were joined by the Horn-Flute people from Kwastapabi, an event still commemorated in the biennial Flute ceremony. After the uprising of 1680 Kisakobi was deserted and modern Walpi founded.

In the meantime the Squash people at Middle mesa had abandoned Chukubi and built Mishongnovi, not however in its present location, which was occupied only after the killing of the missionaries. Shongopavi and Shipaulovi, and at West mesa Oraibi, all of which had been established in the valley, were removed to their present sites at the time.

While the Rattlesnakes were still living in the valley between East and Middle mesas, the Reed people entered the country from the east and settled at Lömé-va near old Mishongnovi. After a quarrel with the Squash people of that village they joined the Rattlesnakes and eventually became a part of the Walpi population.

Also from the east came the Badger people, who after long wanderings settled at Kisíu-va ("shadow spring") about fifteen miles northeast of Walpi. Later they moved down Oraibi wash, and halfway to Oraibi built Síu-va ("onion spring") near the spring of that name.

Ultimately they joined old Oraibi. The Badger clan was established at Walpi by the marriage of a Badger woman, who, contrary to custom, went to live with her husband's people. The Walpi Badgers later founded the adjacent pueblo Sichomovi.

After the insurrection of 1680 many refugees from the Rio Grande entered the Hopi country, and some of them founded the village of Payupki (Payŭp-ki, "river house") on Middle mesa. In 1748 they were taken back and settled at Sandia. About the year 1700 the Tanoan clan called Ása ("tansy-mustard"), at the solicitation of Walpi, which was being hard-pressed by the Ute and Navaho, left their homes on the upper Rio Grande, and after stopping successively at Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi, at each of which pueblos they left some of their number,[1] they built Chakwaina (Chaqaína) on Antelope mesa. After an indeterminate sojourn there, they proceeded to Walpi, but were refused admittance by the Bear and Snake chiefs when they confessed that they had no magic for the common good. Much depressed by the failure of Walpi to keep its promise regarding lands, they settled near the spring Isba (Ís-va, "coyote spring"). The ruin of this village is called Sikyá-owa-ŝomo ("yellow rock mound"). In a battle with the Navaho and Ute they saved the day, and as a reward received all the land north of an east-and-west line passing through the Gap, with permission to build a village on the site of the present Tewa village Hano. Friction arose over the appropriation by an Ása man of the Walpi Crier Chief's wife, and the Ása prepared to leave. At Tawá-pa spring however they were solicited to return, because the Hopi were apprehensive that the two Water Bullsnakes, which the Ása were believed to have deposited in Tĕvéskya spring on their arrival at East mesa, would cause an earthquake if their guardians departed. The Ása were then assigned a building location in Walpi to guard the head of the Stairway trail. Some years later other Tanoan people were induced to join the Hopi at East mesa, and they built the modern village Hano, where the Tewa language is still spoken. Many of the Ása, as well as others, went into the Navaho country at a time of famine in 1780, but the second generation of mixed-bloods returned to Walpi, most of them joining the people of Sichomovi, which had been founded by the Walpi Badger clan about the middle of the century.

From the south another group of migrants had been slowly ad-

[1] Represented at Zuñi today by the Aíaho (*Phacelia ivesiana* Torr.) clan, which is on the verge of extinction.

Cat. Copyright Photograph 1906 by H. T. Wentzel

GOSSIP AT THE WATER-HOLE

From Copyright Photograph 1918 by A. Radclyffe

GOSSIP AT THE WATER HOLE

vancing. The Cloud clan, originating in the distant south, gradually worked northward to Palatkwabi (Palátqavi), which Hopi traditionists identify with a group of ruins on Gila river west of San Carlos. They were accompanied by the Lizard, Rabbit, and Sun people. A destructive flood, which they attributed to the mythical Water Bullsnake, caused them to resume their northward movement, and after various stops they settled at Homolobi (Homól-ovi, "breast high-place") on the Little Colorado near the site of Winslow. There they were so plagued by mosquitoes that they abandoned the pueblo and settled at Pakachomo (Pá-koi-ʃomo, "water soil mound") [1] about four miles south of Walpi. Some of them ultimately joined Walpi, others the Middle Mesa towns. Their entry into the Hopi country occurred after the destruction of Awatobi and the founding of Hano and Sichomovi, probably about the middle of the eighteenth century.

To summarize the evidence, legendary and documentary, it may be stated that the Hopi consist of the descendants of various groups that entered the country from the north, the east, and the south, and that the series of movements covered a period of probably three centuries, and perhaps considerably longer.

The walls of the many-roomed, terraced buildings of the Hopi are rather rudely constructed of stones cemented with mud. Tradition does not extend back to a period when these people were not dwellers in stone houses. The structures of ancient times, however, are said to have been so much smaller than those of the present day that the occupants were unable to stand upright in the little stone cells. The walls of a modern house are seven or eight feet high and about eighteen inches thick, enclosing an approximate parallelogram. Usually the men provide and lay the stone, while the women apply the mortar, which is simply a puddle of sandy gumbo; but not infrequently women are also the masons. Some of the stones are rudely shaped by fracture, but there is no attempt at dressing them, and the face of the wall is filled out to a comparatively plane surface by chinking the crevices with spalls. After the walls are erected, the women cover them on the inside, and sometimes, though not usually, on the outside, with plaster of the kind used in the masonry, applying it with the bare hand; and finally they finish the inner walls with a coat of white gypsum laid on by means of a large glove of sheep fleece. The gypsum is mined on the top of the mesa north

[1] Apparently a contraction of *pá-koyaŋ-ʃomo*. *Pá-koyaŋ* is the dust raised by a pelting shower.

of the Gap, and after drying two or three days it is mixed with water into a thin wash. In some houses the inner walls are covered with a finishing plaster of pink clay, such as is generally used on the floor; and one house in Sichomovi has been so treated on the outside.

The roof is nearly level. Beams of juniper, pine, cottonwood, or piñon, resting directly on the side walls, are about two feet apart, and across them is a series of pole battens, usually willow. Over the battens is a layer of skunk-bush (*Rhus trilobata*) shoots, and a thatch of coarse, dried grass is followed by a layer of gumbo plaster, over which is spread a covering of dry earth of the same kind. This soil is firmly trodden down, and once wet it dries out into a hard and fairly impervious roofing. Generally there are no eaves, the walls extending slightly above the roof in a low coping pierced for drainage, which is discharged over a flat or slightly curved slab of stone, a wooden trough, or a gourd.

At one corner of the roof is left a small hole for the passage of a chimney, a feature which is proved by archeological investigation to have been wanting in ancient pueblo structures. The construction of the earliest form of chimney was begun by placing, about three feet above the floor, a short pole across the angle of a corner, the ends being secured in crevices of the walls. Resting on this base, long sticks or green sunflower stalks extended upward to the opening in the roof, forming a roughly funnel-shaped flue, which was thickly coated on both sides with mud. In some cases two stone piers were built against the walls near a corner of the room for the support of the ends of a curved piece of green piñon wood, on which the base of the flue rested; and another method was to drive a stake into each wall and support their intersecting ends on a thong fastened to a roof-beam. On wooden pegs driven into the walls inside the chimney were laid bundles of green greasewood for drying. Greasewood and piñon were the only fuel. In the fireplace were three or more roundish stones, on which stood the single cooking-pot.

In cold weather the elder members of the family occupied the places near the fire, and the children huddled together in the space that was left available. The old people offered a good reason for this state of affairs by saying that the children must accustom themselves to enduring cold in preparation for the time when they must take the war-path or make long journeys for other purposes. It is not recorded that the children ever inquired why their elders, having had that training in their childhood, found it necessary to hover over the little fire.

Walpi, by John Hillers, 1879. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives

Hopi Architecture

The exterior chimney still consists of a rectangular masonry base surmounted by a stack of bottomless pots cemented together. These primitive fireplaces continued in general use until about 1892, when the Government rewarded with a heating stove each family whose children were sent to school. A few years later cooking stoves were distributed, and since about 1910 hemispherical, outdoor ovens of the Mexican type have become quite common.

The floor is made by spreading a layer of clayey soil, sprinkling water on it, trampling and beating it down hard and level, smearing over it with the hand a mixture of pink clay, sand, and water, and finally, while it is still moist, rubbing it well with a smooth stone in order to prevent cracking. The result is a fairly hard floor of a beautiful pink tint. Carefully used, such a floor will last a month, and a new coat of plaster must then be applied. When after many such applications the stratum of plaster becomes appreciably thick, it is stripped off, pulverized on the mealing stones, and used again. In some houses, where the rock on which they are built is fairly smooth, the floor of the lowest story is simply this bed-rock surface.

The Hopi villages were established on their present almost inaccessible sites for purposes of defence; and with the same object in view the builders formerly never left a door in the outer walls of the first story, access to the rooms invariably being through hatchways in the roof. On the upper levels low doorways were provided. In cold weather the well-to-do hung a deerskin over the opening, and later, say the traditionists, cottonwood shoots and sunflower stalks were woven into rude doors. A further development consisted of piñon slabs flattened on both sides and bound together by means of deerskin thongs. A piñon slab formed the threshold and another the lintel. At one end of both threshold and lintel was a hole, and the projecting, pointed ends of one of the stiles of the door fitted into these holes, so that the door swung as if on hinges. This form of door, the traditionists affirm, was in use when the first clans arrived in the present Hopi country. There is no archeological evidence supporting this contention, however, and such doors are doubtless of Spanish origin.

The principal articles of furniture in a Hopi house are mealing stones, earthen pots and water-jars, basketry trays, and bedding. The mealing stones are a series of three flat slabs of sandstone about fifteen inches square, cemented at a convenient angle for the worker in three compartments on the floor. They are of different degrees of fineness. On the coarsest stone the corn is crushed by rubbing

with a basalt or lava muller; on the second the fragments are reduced to coarse meal with a sandstone muller; and in the third compartment a muller of still closer texture produces a meal almost as fine as our wheat flour. Girls and young women grind the corn, kneeling on the floor and working with the movement of a woman at her washboard. The work is generally performed early in the morning to the accompaniment of grinding songs.

Even at the present time the bedding is spread on the floor at night and hung across a pole during the day. In primitive times the blankets were made of strips of rabbit-skins, and in some instances of white woven cotton, but sheep fleeces and woollen blankets are now used.

A very important adjunct to the Hopi home is the stone on which is baked the paper-like bread called *piki*. Usually it is placed in a small room of the first story, or sometimes, at Walpi, in a cell built in a niche at the edge of the cliff with its roof and hatchway on the same level as the mesa top. The material for the piki stone (*tŭ́ma*) is quarried in the foothills about three miles north of Walpi on the south side of the mesa, and it is taken out in four-inch slabs measuring about two-and-a-half by three feet. In ancient times, before the days of steel implements, the workmen doubtless used wooden wedges and stone mauls in splitting the stone. The rough piece is thinned down with an old axe and smoothed with a piece of coarse sandstone, after which it is rubbed with a grinding stone and a quantity of sand. It is now about three inches thick. After a polishing process with smooth, water-worn stones and masticated watermelon-seeds, the slab is placed with its longer edges on two low walls of stone in the fireplace, and a small fire is maintained under it all day. Toward evening the ends of the space beneath the stone are walled in and all the crevices are filled up with clay, in order to confine the heat, and piñon-gum is dropped on the stone. After it has burned, it is rubbed off with a bunch of twigs, and another quantity of melting gum is rubbed into the stone with a piece of sheep fleece. Then ground watermelon-seeds and crumbled piki are burned on it, and it is again rubbed smooth and polished with a fleece. Finally the end walls are removed and a fresh fire is built under the stone, and piki is baked on it, the first two or three sheets, which absorb the taste of pitch, being rejected.

Each village possesses several or many chambers reserved for the use of ceremonial societies. They are always detached from the dwellings, and either partially or wholly below the general level of

Household Utensils

the ground, the entrance being through a hatchway by means of a ladder. To these subterranean cells the native term *kíva* is generally applied, in preference to the Spanish *estufa* (stove), which was given them by the Conquistadores on account of their high temperature. Like the dwelling house, the kiva has masonry walls and a nearly flat roof of timbers, thatching, and earth. About one-third of the stone-paved floor is raised ten inches above the remainder, and it is on this raised portion that spectators sit. The sunken fireplace is directly beneath the hatchway and near the foot of the ladder. But the most important feature of the ceremonial chamber is the *sípapu*, a small pit near the end of the room on the lower level of the floor, covered with a thick slab flush with the floor, in which is a two-inch hole fitted with a wooden plug. This represents the orifice through which the ancients emerged in their ascent from the lower world of darkness. Hopi kivas are approximately rectangular, from twenty-two to thirty feet long and ten to fifteen wide, and the ceiling is seven to eleven feet high in the middle, sloping down slightly toward the ends.

Hopi men in primitive times wore shirts, leggings, loin-cloths, moccasins, and head-bands, and women wore tunics, leggings, and moccasins; but when weather and occasion permitted it, men wore nothing but the loin-cloth. The men's shirt (*nápna*) was an oblong piece of undyed cloth woven of native cotton with a hole for the head in the centre, like a poncho. Sometimes it was sleeveless, but usually straight, unshaped sleeves, open along the lower edge but tied at the wrists, were attached to the shoulders. The edges hung open at the sides, except for a few yarn ties. This garment fell into disuse about 1865, but a modified form with seams at the sides and in the sleeves, and made of white or figured cotton goods, is still worn. The primitive leggings of knitted cotton reached midway up the thigh and were supported by the same waist-string that held up the cotton loin-cloth. These leggings, which were not used in warm weather, have given place to white cotton pantaloons extending nearly to the ankles. The present loin-cloth is of blue woollen cloth. When deerskin could not be obtained, the primitive foot-wear was sandals of woven yucca-leaves with the sharp edges removed. Deerskin moccasins were made like the goat-skin winter foot-wear of today. An oblong piece of skin is doubled over, and where two of the corners meet the material is cut away in a curve to fit the instep. The free edges along the curve and at the back are then sewn together, and the result is a moccasin without a seam at the edge of the sole. The

Navaho type, with separate rawhide sole and red-dyed upper, is much used.

Women formerly wore the *mŏßapû*, an undyed cotton robe, which passed under the left arm and over the right shoulder, the two edges meeting at the right side and the edge from behind overlapping the other. It was tied together above the right shoulder, but not at the side. The modern successor of this garment is made of blue-black wool, and the broad belt, replacing the ancient one of undyed cotton, is of blue-black wool with red and white ornamentation. Rarely seen at East mesa, the *mŏßapû* is not uncommon at Middle mesa, and is the rule at the western villages. Ordinarily nothing else was worn, the arms and lower legs being bare; and only on ceremonial occasions, such as dances and weddings, did women use the one-piece moccasin with pure white leggings attached. Half of a large deerskin was required for a legging, which was wrapped about the calf in the manner still seen. At the present time Hopi women, copying the Navaho fashion, wear moccasins like those of the men, with rawhide sole of cowskin, red-tanned deerskin upper, and two or three silver buttons at the side. Women used no stockings, but in comparatively recent times, influenced by the Zuñi fashion, they adopted the knee-length, footless, blue stocking held down by a string under the foot.

Bed blankets of white cotton were thrown about the shoulders in cold weather, but more commonly these were worn by women, while men used robes of nine wildcat-skins, or blankets made of strips of rabbit-skin interwoven with cotton yarn. Bear-skins were used at a later date, and when the Hopi began to make long journeys to the eastern pueblos they obtained a few buffalo-skins from the Comanche whom they met there. Women still make rabbit-skin robes, but men do all the weaving.

In dances, and especially in Kachina dances, unmarried girls wore earrings made by smearing piñon-gum on a thin piece of wood about an inch and a half square, and setting bits of turquois in the gum. In reference to the arrangement of the turquois this was called *tŭoi-naka* (*tŭoi*, describing the orderly manner of stacking ears of corn with the butts out; *náka*, earring). Young men on ceremonial occasions wore *ßózmûm-naka* ("blue-long earrings"), which were simply strings of turquois beads. After the introduction of glass beads by the Spaniards, strings of these ornaments were worn about the neck by unmarried girls. Some of these large blue beads remain in the possession of the Hopi. The Spanish introduced

From Copyright Photograph 1901 by E. J. Curtis

ON A HOUSETOP - WALPI

From Copyright Photograph 1904 by A. Parker

On a Housetop. Walpi

also copper and coral, which were used respectively for ear-pendants and necklaces. In ancient times the seeds of juniper-berries were boiled and while still soft were pierced for beads. The red berries of the bush *kĕvĕpusßuki* (*Lycium pallidum*) and the black seeds of yucca were made into beads. Formerly the Hopi never made shell beads, but obtained them from Zuñi and the Rio Grande pueblos, and from these sources came also, and still comes, their turquois. From the Havasupai was obtained a red ochre already prepared as paint, which men and women rubbed on the face before going out into the wind. The Hopi never tattooed.

The modern style of dressing the hair is like the ancient. Men cut it at the sides level with the lobe of the ear, and in front at such a length that when unconfined by the head-band it just covers the eyes; and they part it in the middle and double it up at the nape of the neck, tying it with a string so as to form a bunch about five inches long. Formerly a white down-feather of an eagle was generally worn at the left side of the head. Females part their hair in the middle from the forehead to the nape of the neck. Unmarried girls arrange it in a large whorl above each ear, a very distinctive style symbolic of the squash-blossom; while married women have at each side of the face a shoulder-length club of hair wrapped from end to end with a long, dark-blue, cotton string. The picturesque whorl fashion is so fast disappearing, at least in Walpi, that in three months' observation in the winter of 1911–1912 only one girl was seen with hair so dressed except on ceremonial occasions. To arrange the whorls is too laborious a task for women with a school education.

Hopi women of East mesa are moderately good potters, and the men are skilful weavers and successful farmers.

The modern earthenware is considerably softer and of coarser texture than the pieces that have been exhumed in large numbers from the ruins of this region. The most successful imitator of the ancient ware, who is not a Hopi at all, but the Tewa woman Nampéyo, of the village Hano, says that its superiority was obtained by the use of lignite, by which the prehistoric potters were able to fire their vessels for several days; but a well-informed traditionist, on the contrary, asserts that it was the result of burying the clay in moist sand for a long time, perhaps two moons, which "caused something in the clay to rot." Probably the excellence of the ancient earthenware is due to both causes. The potter's clay is dug out from under the rocks about the foothills of the mesa. When thoroughly dry it is ground on the mealing stones, and after it has soaked in water

a quantity of pulverized sandstone or potsherds is mixed with it. Ancient, decorated sherds are preferred for this purpose, fragments of cooking-pots not being used. The mass is thoroughly kneaded, and when it is quite homogeneous, a ball of the clay is held on the left palm while the heel of the right hand works it out into a disc of the required thinness, which is placed in a slightly concave form called *tavípi* ("layer"). This article is now usually a piece of tinware, such as a hand basin, but formerly it was either a potsherd or a basket tray filled with fine wet ashes pressed into the desired shape. The base of the proposed vessel, having been thus formed, a small ball of clay is rolled between the palms into a thin rope, which is coiled round and round the edge of the incipient and gradually growing vessel. At intervals, as the height increases, the potter smooths the receptacle inside and outside with a bit of gourd-shell. The completed article is set in the sun, or in winter under the stove, to dry for a day or longer, then with a piece of smooth sandstone it is smoothed and rubbed down to the desired thinness, and a very thin wash of clay is smeared over the exposed surfaces. A smooth pebble is rubbed over the vessel to polish it and then the painted design is applied by means of a narrow strip of yucca-leaf. The various pieces to be fired are now set about the fireplace (nowadays under the stove) to become quite warm. In a small charcoal fire are placed several blocks of sandstone, on which the pieces of pottery are set in such a way that the fire will have ventilation from beneath and thus burn without smoking at the bottom, which would permanently blacken the vessels. The pieces are piled up in a rounded heap, and then cakes of dried dung from the corrals are placed around and over the whole, with ample ventilation carefully provided both at the bottom and at the sides. Before sheep, burros, and horses furnished dung for fuel, the Hopi potters used lignite, which is found in various places among the cliffs. Many rounded heaps of débris containing bits of charcoal and sherds mark ancient pottery kilns. After the fire has burned out and the vessels have cooled, they are taken out, but not before, as they easily break while still hot.

Hopi pottery is undergoing rapid changes. Raised ornamentation in the form of a serpent, a narrow incised band giving somewhat the effect of lace insertion, new shapes, new designs, greet the returned visitor and shock him with the feeling that all this is foreign to Hopi art. But is it? The inspiration that produced these changes was born within the potter's own soul: it came from no alien source. And shall a Hopi be denied the artist's right of giving form to his

Fewkes Photographic Photograph, 1921, by E. P. Conklin

EAST MESA POTTERY

PLATE XXXIII. ANT MESA POTTERY

vision? Considering the matter in this judicial spirit, the observer, recovering from the instinctive feeling that any departure from the old is not "Indian," can only admit that many of these new creations are meritorious.

Pottery is not made at Middle mesa nor at Oraibi, although adjacent ruin-mounds and burial places are veritable mines of potsherds.

The basketry of the Hopi, compared with the work of many other Southwestern Indians, is simple, although it shows a considerable variety of form. The most striking product in this branch is the well-known sacred-meal plaque with the figure of a Kachina in bright colors. At Oraibi these plaques are rabbit-brush twining on a warp of kunk-bush (*sivípsi*) rods, while at Middle mesa they are coiled work of yucca-leaf strips wrapped about a thick coil of yucca strands with the design in black and orange. The deep burden-basket with oblong opening and a capacity of about a bushel, was formerly made and used at all the Hopi villages for carrying corn, squashes, and peaches. It is made of skunk-bush shoots, and the technique is twining. At Middle mesa is made a tray about three feet long and nearly as wide, on which piki is piled during the baking. The material is skunk-bush shoots. The Middle Mesa villagers make also rough, shallow trays of yucca strips interwoven like matting, for containing corn and for sifting meal. No basketry is now made at East mesa, and the traditionists declare that formerly only burden-baskets were manufactured.

In the art of weaving, knitting, and embroidery the Hopi are preëminent. In ancient times they wove their cultivated cotton into fabrics the fineness of which excited the comment of the early Spaniards, and indeed the cloth remnants found in the ruined cliff-dwellings and burial caves of the country rival the examples of early Peruvian art. Textiles were not dyed prior to the acquisition of sheep, and the white background of ceremonial belts, sashes, and robes is still cotton in the form of commercial cord retwisted into a thin, tight strand. Excellent embroidery in Germantown yarn appears on all ceremonial garments.

Since the very earliest traditional times the Hopi have lived mainly by cultivation of the soil, and almost without exception their numerous religious ceremonies have as their principal object the increase of crops. Corn, beans, squashes, and cotton were raised in ancient times, and with the advent of white men the Hopi have added peaches, muskmelons, watermelons, chile, and onions. Corn

remains the principal crop. It is planted very deep and far apart with no more preparation of the thin, sandy soil than removing the brushy vegetation. About 2500 acres are planted annually, yielding about 25,000 bushels. Of other crops perhaps 1500 acres are cultivated, and the Hopi peach orchards are estimated at 1000 acres, a figure which, however, gives an exaggerated impression, as the trees are widely and irregularly scattered.

Cotton was once a most important crop, as it was the material for their woven clothing and had an important ceremonial use, furnishing string for the making of prayer-sticks and other offerings, as well as for various ceremonial garments.[1] Almost every family had a small patch of cotton among the rocks at the eastern and southern base of East mesa, and some traces of the stone enclosures remain. Native cotton was still raised by a few men at East mesa as recently as about 1890, and Lewton, in the paper referred to below, says that near Oraibi "the cultivation of cotton on a small scale is carried on by the Indians as a regular crop." This was published in 1912, and probably refers to a time several years earlier. The cheapness of commercial cotton goods and the increasing numbers of sheep to furnish wool have caused the cultivation of cotton to be quite abandoned. Tradition gives no hint as to the source from which the Hopi obtained their first cotton, and it is a remarkable fact that cotton, as a plant, plays no part whatever in Hopi mythology and religion, nor does plant, flower, or bursting boll appear in esoteric or decorative design. Tradition is silent also as to the origin of the peach orchards. The old men in describing the foods of their ancestors never mention peaches, and are aware that the ancients had none, yet no one of these traditionists can give any information touching the introduction of this fruit. It is known that the large orchard just below Ísba, the spring used by the Tewa, was started from trees obtained from Mormons; but these were far from being the first peach trees of the Hopi. It is said that after the destruction of Awatobi in 1700 the Oraibi chief spared a man who "knew how to cause peaches to grow," and thus the fruit was introduced at Oraibi. As Awatobi was the principal seat of the padres in the

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* Reading from left to right the plaques bear the following designs: Upper row: Ornamental; Tûmas Katsína; Eagle. Lower row: Cloud; Aná Katsína; Kóhonin (Havasupai) Katsína. Note the diagonal lines across the face of the last named, representing the tattoo lines on the faces of most Yuman females.

[1] See Frederick L. Lewton, *The Cotton of the Hopi Indians: A New Species of Gossypium*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 60, No. 6, Washington, 1912.

ORAIBI PLAQUES*

Hopi country, it is there we should expect to find the peach to have been first cultivated.

Tobacco is not now, and probably never was, planted and cultivated. The assertion of Fewkes that the Hopi have gardens of tobacco is doubtless based on the fact that in the cornfields the eradication of weeds gives the wild tobacco (*Nicotiana trigonophylla* and *N. attenuata*) a better chance to thrive there than elsewhere, and the farmer never destroys a tobacco plant. The nearest he comes to cultivating tobacco is to pluck and scatter the ripened seed as he chances upon it. Only in occasional seasons is there a good supply of tobacco, and in such seasons enough is gathered to last two or three years. Native tobacco, unadulterated, is always used in ceremonial smoking, but the plant is not regarded as sacred.

A few Hopi men have learned from the Navaho the art of working in silver, their product being buttons, bracelets, rings, and belt buckles. So little bead-making is done that a reliable native informant said there are no bead-makers among the Hopi; but in the kiva a young man was seen drilling holes through bits of reddish stone by means of a pump drill. The great bulk of stone and shell ornaments, however, is obtained from Zuñi and the eastern pueblos.

Numerous native paints and dyes are used.

In making the red paint called *sûpnala* the liquid from boiled red corn is poured over the crushed ripe berries of the skunk-bush, and pulverized white clay of the kind called *tûmŏßoka*, which is used also in certain foods, is added to give it body. The dried berries are kept on hand constantly, and the paint is made as it is needed for decorating the bodies of Kachina dancers.

For yellow paint (*sikyá-piki*) the yellow flowers of *sivápi* (*Chrysothamnus graveolens*), a low shrub used in the gardens as a windbreak for beans and melons, and commonly called rabbit-brush, are boiled, and the liquid is strained off. This is then reboiled, and *síöṇa*, alkaline salts found in the crystallized state in thin sheets within the clay, is added. *Ťûwá-kta* ("sand excrement"), a spherical ball of agglutinated sand, is pulverized and stirred in along with the alkaline salts, in equal proportion, until the mixture is about as thick as our liquid paint. The coarse sand settles to the bottom and the liquid portion of the mixture is used for painting the body of a Kachina dancer. If the paint is to be kept for future use, it is poured off into small dishes, when the excess of water evaporates and there is left a solid, which, as desired, may be mixed with water.

For blue paint, *saqá-piki*, piñon-gum is melted and strained

through horse-hair cloth into a vessel of cold water, where it becomes congealed. It is then pulled, like candy, until it is quite white, and is boiled in water. *Sáqa*, a very soft variety of turquois obtained from the Havasupai, is now pulverized and stirred into the mixture, and the boiling is continued, with frequent testing, until, when a stick is thrust into the mass and drawn out, the colored gum adhering to it becomes brittle on cooling. The vessel is then removed from the fire, and the paint hardens into a vitreous mass, which on warming becomes viscous. When it is to be used, a piece is broken off by striking it with a stone, and this is ground on a paint stone and mixed with a quantity of masticated squash-seeds. It is used on the faces of certain Kachina dancers and on the horns of Horn fraternity initiates, as well as on certain Kachina effigies. It is a beautiful turquois blue, but one who wears it must be careful not to approach a fire too closely, for heat turns it black.

Sifsôṇovi, micaceous hematite, is rubbed on a stone moistened with water, and then applied to the body by Kachina personators in order to produce white designs. The same material is calcined in flames, then pulverized and mixed with urine and pressed into a ball, when it quickly hardens like cement. This is the ball used in the kicking race.

Wívavi, blue clay, also is used by Kachina personators.

The black dye *tóko* ("lava") has burned piñon-gum for its base. The gum is burned to a cinder in an earthen pot, while a soft yellow substance found between veins of lignite is mixed in gradually. After the burning the gum and the yellow substance are found to be pulverized, and the powder is removed from the pot. Shoots of skunk-bush (*Rhus trilobata*) are coiled up and boiled, the liquid is strained off, and the black powder is stirred into the boiling solution, in which the wool to be dyed is boiled for a time. This dye was not used before the acquisition of sheep. The liquid from boiled skunk-bush shoots is used for the purpose of setting the dye.

Yellow dyestuff is obtained by boiling the yellow flowers of *hohóïsi* (*Thelespermia gracile*) and adding alkaline salts. It is used at Walpi to dye white horse-hair for certain Kachina costumes, and it imparts an orange shade with a slight reddish tinge. At Middle and West mesas it is used by basket-makers to color their strips of yucca-leaves. Black basketry material is obtained by boiling yucca-leaves in the liquid resulting from the boiling of black beans. Before commercial dyes were to be had only orange, blue-black, and natural white were used by basket-makers.

From Copyright Photograph 1912 by E. S. Curtis

HARO AND WALPI GIRLS WEARING *AṔÖ*

HANG AN[illegible]

The rich brown dye for deerskin is the product of two barks: *pöfsivi*, syringa, and a thicker bark called *sóku*, which is obtained from the Havasupai and is probably alder. Liquid of boiled syringa-bark, as hot as the hand can bear it, is rubbed over the surface of a deerskin by means of a corncob; pulverized *sóku* is spread over the moist surface, and ashes are strewn over it. After the skin is dry it is spread in damp sand, and when it has become somewhat moist it is worked between the hands, in order to soften it. The result is a beautiful mahogany tint. This is an ancient Hopi process.

Since indigo, which, like soft turquois, is called *sáqa*, has been obtainable from the Mexicans, a broad border on the woman's robe has been of deep dark blue. Originally the entire garment was blue-black. The indigo is mixed with urine, the ammonia of which sets the color. In dying native stockings the articles are left in the solution for eight days, and daily a bag of indigo is stirred about in the liquid in order to add color. Sometimes the white wool is dyed before the stockings are knitted. The urine of persons who have recently eaten skunk-berries or juniper-berries must not be used for this purpose, as it would cause the fabric to come out a grayish blue.

For the decoration of pottery, *ása*, tansy-mustard, is boiled down to a waxy paste. When this is to be used, it is moistened with a little water and smeared on the paint stone, *tokó-kûyanpi* ("lava rub-on"). A bit of lava is rubbed on the moist paint stone, and thus a brown color is produced. The coloring matter seems to come entirely from the lava, the *ása* essence being used only to give it body. In the burning it turns black.

Sikyá-fska ("yellow mud") is a yellow clay, probably ochre, which is moistened and used in pottery decoration. After the design is painted it is rubbed over with a stone, in order to force the paint into the pores of the clay, and after the firing it is found to have become a brownish red.

The Hopi terms of measurement are quite simple. *Ťŭkyĕ'lĕmi* is measured by the outstretched thumb and middle finger; *máhmki*, from tip to tip of the middle fingers, the arms outstretched. The former unit is used in measuring short strings and the latter for longer strings, such as those employed by women and girls for wrapping the hair, and for making ropes. *Ílaki* ("step") is used in measuring land or distance. The Hopi pace is about two feet in length. A stretch of cornfield twelve paces wide, but of no definite length, is a *tûki*, the average being about equal to one-half acre.

There are no units of measurement for long distances. When the necessity for such terms arises, it is met by comparing the distance with that of some landmark visible or known to the speaker. Corn in the ear is now measured by sacks, but formerly the unit was the *hoápû*, a large burden-basket about eighteen to twenty inches in width and three feet long at top, by two or two and a half feet deep. Shelled corn is measured by the *teſsaía*, a tray-basket, and meal by the *póta* basket, the amount of one grinding.

The dog was formerly the only domesticated animal. Only recently, it is said, were turkeys introduced, although the Coronado expedition saw "cocks with great hanging chins" in the Tigua pueblos on the Rio Grande, and "cocks with very big wattles" at Acoma. Eagles and various kinds of hawks were, and still are, kept in captivity from spring until summer for the sake of their feathers.

Each of six Walpi clans — Reed, Cloud, Bear, Firewood, Snake, and Tobacco — has definitely bounded territory in which its members have the right to capture eagles, and in each of these clans there is one family which from ancient times has inherited the privilege of making pahos for the eagles and keeping the captive birds. During the winter solstice ceremony the men make imitation eagle-eggs of dozy cottonwood, and deposit them with *naqáqŭsi* [1] in various places among the cliffs and rocks near the mesa. In the spring pahos and *naqáqŭsi* are prepared by the men of a certain family in each clan that has eagle grounds, and small earthen vessels are made by the women of those families and deposited by the men at certain shrines in their respective preserves. The men then proceed to look for eagle nests. The usual method of taking the young birds is to go to the cliff above and lower a man by means of a rope tied about his waist, a blanket being folded under it to prevent it from cutting into the flesh, and a bit of rope about the neck being fast to the main rope so that the hunter may not lose his equilibrium. He carries a curved staff with which to keep himself from being dragged against the face of the cliff and for drawing the eaglets out if the nest is under an over-hanging rock. If the birds are old enough to fly out and tumble to the ground, they are permitted to do so, and men below catch them; but when they are too young to fly, the man on the rope catches them and either ties them to another rope and signals those above to hoist away, or gathers them in and takes them

[1] Feathers to which short strings are attached, and used for offerings where such can be tied to an object instead of being thrust into the ground, as the stick of a paho, or prayer-stick, is used.

up himself. After all the nests in the preserve have been visited, a rude framework of sticks is made for each bird, which is then lashed to it like a baby to its cradle-board. The framework is hung on the saddle, and the party returns to the village and carries the eaglets to the house of the women who made the sacrificial vessels for their clansmen.

When three eaglets are found in a nest, one is left, because triplets in a family are regarded as an evil omen, and, the eaglets being treated like newborn infants, the superstition is extended to this case. But men of clans having no eagle preserves are permitted to take the third eaglet if they desire to do so, and this is usually done, the returning hunters informing the people what nests birds were left in, and a hot race between two or more men not infrequently ensuing.

After the return of the eagle-hunters, all the clanswomen assemble in the presence of the men of their respective clans to wash the birds with gypsum and to give a name to each one, just as if they were infants. There are no songs nor prayers on this occasion, and after the washing and naming the eaglets are tethered on the housetop. It becomes the duty of the small boys to hunt rabbits and mice and keep the birds provided twice daily with meat and water.

About the end of July, on the day after the Nimán Kachina dance,[1] the eagles are killed (though occasionally a bird not mature enough to furnish good feathers is kept longer) by laying the bird's head in a small, shallow excavation and pressing the thumb on the sternum. The long feathers are plucked, the dead birds skinned, and the bodies taken to the south point of the mesa, where they are interred in one of several crevices with a paho tied to each leg and to the bone of each wing in payment for the feathers and the skin. With the bodies are deposited *naqáqŭsi*, wooden Kachina effigies, and small bows and arrows, which have been made during the Nimán Kachina ceremony, the effigies being intended as offerings to the eagle children and the weapons for the use of the eagle men in killing game. The spirits of the dead eagles are believed to return to their home, accompanying the departing Kachinas. The long feathers are distributed among the male members of the clan, the skin is kept in the house where the eagle passed its captivity, and the short feathers are freely taken from the skin by any one of the clans for making pahos or *naqáqŭsi*.

In ancient times adult eagles were taken in the manner employed

[1] Not, as has been said, immediately after washing the eagles' heads.

by many other tribes. There are now standing in the Hopi country the remains of two small stone enclosures much in the form of a Navaho hogan, which are called *qá-mak-ki* ("eagle hunt house"). One is on a mesa a little east of north from Walpi, the other on a butte toward the south. Having tied the bodies of several rabbits to a loose thatch of sticks laid across the opening in the roof, a hunter took his place inside, and while his companions hunted for other rabbits, he sang his ceremonial songs, in order to cause the eagles to descend to his bait. When a bird attempted to seize the rabbits, the watcher grasped its legs, dragged it within, strangled it, and at once skinned it. The last bird taken was permitted to escape with a *náqaqŭsi* tied to one leg and with circlets of turquois and shell beads about both legs. The flesh of birds thus captured was ceremonially eaten by hunters.

Sheep were sometimes captured from the Navaho in considerable numbers, but they were always slaughtered at once, and not until a disastrous famine, occurring about the year 1870, had taught them the folly of this course did the Hopi take to raising flocks. Morfi in 1787 recorded that there were some horses and cattle at East mesa, "*pero mucho ganado*"; but it is probable that the flocks and herds of the pastoral Navaho were responsible for the statement. The local agent in 1873 wrote to the Office of Indian Affairs that "they are much pleased that they are to receive sheep this year"; and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported in 1874 that the Hopi had small flocks of sheep and goats. At the present time they possess about 120,000 sheep and goats, 3550 burros, swine, and poultry, 6150 horses and mules, 129 stallions and jacks, and 8400 horned cattle.

When a Hopi child is about to be born, the father's paternal grandmother, or, if she be dead or incapable of acting, his paternal aunt, brings a bowl of water and an ear of corn. The prospective mother lies on a bed of sand, and when the child is delivered the attendant receives it, cuts the umbilical cord, washes the infant in the bowl of water, and wraps it in cloths heated to such a temperature as they think sufficient to kill any vermin therein. She then lays the child on a tray basket, places beside it the ear of corn, which is called its "mother," and carries out the placenta and fetal envelopes, casts them over the cliff upon the piles of refuse, and tosses after them a pinch of meal. For twenty days the room is kept darkened, the door being screened with a shawl or a blanket: for the rays of the sun must not shine on the mother during this period. She

A Hopi Flock

From Copyright Photograph 1906 by E. S. Curtis

A Hopi Flock

receives neither meat nor salt, either of which would cause inflammation. Every fourth day the mother, the child, and the attendant have their heads washed with yucca suds. After the twentieth day the mother and the child are permitted to leave the house, but on the twenty-fourth day they must again have their heads washed with warm water. Not until then may they use cold water. On the twentieth day each of the mother's clanswomen takes to the godmother a basket of meal and some mutton, which they have prepared on the previous day; and at the same time the father's clanswomen assemble at his house, each bringing some small present for the child, and bestowing on it one of the names that belong to their clan. A Hopi name therefore does not refer to the clan totem of the bearer. From all these names one stands forth prominently, and this is the one adopted for the child. But sometimes a woman expresses the desire to have her child, as yet unborn, named by a woman of some other clan than that of her husband.[1]

At the age of about six or seven years all boys, and some girls, are initiated into the Kachina order, and they then receive new names. Occasionally however the childhood name persists, and the new one is not commonly used. In later life, whenever the individual is initiated into a fraternity a new name is bestowed by the ceremonial father, and this may or may not replace the one previously borne.

In former times when a boy was disposed to sleep late, one of his grandfathers would seize him, hustle him outside, and roll him in the snow or dash cold water over him. Then when the child, released, came running to the fire, another old man would repeat the punishment, and this was kept up until the boy evinced no wish to seek the fire.

At all times children were admonished not to crowd too closely to the fire, and not to eat too much, and constant watch was kept to see that they observed this latter injunction. Daily they were made to practise running, boys of five or six years doing their mile every morning. This Spartan training was intended to render the children capable of resisting the Navaho and other hostile tribes, and untiring in hunting. At night when the elders were talking, boys were told to listen carefully, and if any manifested a desire to sleep he was sent outside to "breathe in the spirit of the stars."

At the age of eight or nine the boys began to take a daily morning plunge. At Walpi Tawâ-pa spring was used. On rising, men and boys, clad only in breech-cloths, would run down the trail to the

[1] See Interclan Relations as Shown by Bestowal of Names, page 233

spring, make an offering of meal and prayers to the sun for good luck and long life, throw off their breech-cloths, and leap into the water. Then, quickly scrambling out, they would don their scanty garments and run up the trail to the village, where each wrapped himself in a blanket and sat outside on the roof or on the ground, leaning against a wall and watching the rising sun. Not all males went to the bath together, but those who happened to rise at about the same moment went in one body, to be followed closely by another group and another. At villages where there was no body of water large enough to permit plunging, the bathers stood at the edge and splashed water up over their bodies. In winter, when snow covered the ground, the bath became a roll in the snow; but if the ground was bare they resorted to the spring, broke the ice, and either jumped into the water or dashed it over their bodies. Always they went to and from the spring on the run.

The purpose of the bath was not cleanliness, but physical hardiness for war and the rabbit-drive; for the rabbit played a most important part in the life of the Hopi. While large game was occasionally captured, the task was so difficult that rabbits furnished by far the greater portion of their meat. Even now young men who do not participate in the rabbit-hunt are twitted, and called women.

Formerly as now the women did not habitually bathe at the springs, but occasionally washed off the body in the house; and once in a while in very hot weather women who happened to be at some spring remote from spectators would bathe for the sake of cooling the body. They made their daily offerings of sacred meal, as the men now do, at the edge of the cliff at sunrise.

The sweat-bath was never employed by the Hopi.

Girls are early taught to perform their share of the work of the household. Even as mere infants they play with small grinding stones and make mud piki, and at eight or ten they begin to use the regular mealing stones. Girls of less than three years of age may be seen playing with the mealing stones and actually crushing the corn, and a baby of little more than a year was observed using toy stones and crooning a song. At the age of eight or ten the girls begin to have much of the care of their infant brothers and sisters, and a common sight is a mere child trudging about with a baby in the shawl at her back.

When a girl reaches the age of puberty she is sent to the house of a paternal aunt, where for three days, behind a curtain raised for the occasion, she grinds corn for her aunt. This is quite contrary

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THE DELIGHTS OF CHILDHOOD

to the custom of most Indian tribes, who generally have stringen rules forbidding females in their menses to have a hand in the preparation of food. Other girls not in like condition may come to grind with her, and keep her company. She may not have meat nor salt, and for scratching her head she must use a forked stick with hawk-feathers tied to the prongs. On the fourth day her head is washed with yucca suds by her aunt, who gives her a present such as a belt, a piece of calico, or in rare instances a dress, and the girl then goes home. On the fourth morning of her confinement the girl deposits the head-scratcher on the edge of the mesa and sprinkles it with meal. Marriage usually occurs soon after this period, but it is said that until two generations ago girls rarely married under the age of fifteen or sixteen. This is a common, but doubtful, statement among many tribes.

The adolescence of boys is usually marked by initiation into one of the fraternities that participate in the New Fire ceremony, though in many cases they are past the age of puberty when the approximately quadrennial initiation occurs. There is no ceremonial fasting or vigil for the obtaining of spiritual aid.

The Hopi are strictly monogamous. The ancient custom, according to which parents arranged marriages for their children, has yielded to a modern practice. The youth now attempts to enter by stealth the house of his beloved. If he succeeds, he awakens her and she calls to her parents, who seize the young man if he has remained, or, if he has run away, take steps to ascertain his identity. This having been done, they summon their relatives to consider whether or not he will make a suitable husband; and if he is acceptable, the girl's mother sends her on the next day with a quantity of piki to the young man's house, and in return his mother gives the girl a tray basket of shelled corn on which lies a piece of meat. This exchange is a pledge of marriage, and other young men cease to pay attentions to the girl. The young man's mother divides the piki among his "brothers," who begin to consider what they will individually contribute.

When the youth's maternal uncles decide that the proper time has arrived, they notify the bride's female relatives, and these begin to grind corn, heaping the meal in ten or more large earthen vessels. A sufficient amount having been prepared, the uncles send the young man to notify the girl to hold herself in readiness, and on the third or fourth night thereafter to come to his house. On this appointed night he carries the invitation to her relatives, who soon arrive, bring-

ing the bride and a small portion of their meal. After partaking of food, they depart, leaving the girl, who remains, but sleeps alone. The relatives of the bridegroom now shell a quantity of corn as a marriage gift, and early in the morning the bride arises and grinds until daylight. After the morning meal a portion of the room is curtained off with a blanket, behind which she remains and grinds corn for three days, or until she has filled with meal three large earthen vessels. Not until that amount has been prepared is she permitted to make her appearance.

On the second day the clanswomen of the bridegroom's father pretend that they are greatly vexed because their "sweetheart," as for the moment they call the young man, has deserted them and has brought home another woman. Meeting at the house of one of their number "to hold a council of war," they don old clothing, prepare a vessel of mud and water, and then in a body repair to their clansman's house, where with mock seriousness they vent their pretended spleen on the young man's father, plaguing and teasing him, throwing mud on him, sometimes cutting off his hair.

On the fourth night the bride's relatives bring all the meal they have ground, ten large vessels full and heaped up, and late into the night the bridegroom's female relatives on both sides bake piki, using wood furnished by his maternal uncles. In the morning his uncles kill sheep and roast them for the marriage feast, which all the people are to attend. At the same time the bride's head is being washed in yucca suds by her mother-in-law, an act which is taken to signify that the two are now really married.

The night after the wedding feast the couple spend in a room apart from the bridegroom's family, and there they live until his relatives have made for his wife two cotton blankets, a marriage belt, and a pair of deerskin moccasins and leggings, which require about ten days. These garments she then dons, and after the bridegroom's father and uncles have advised him how to treat a wife, exhorting him to provide plenty of food and to use her kindly, his mother leads the young wife to her own house, where thenceforth they live.[1]

Separation is easily accomplished at the desire of either husband or wife. If the man is dissatisfied, he removes his personal pos-

* In 1900 the author discovered this cave at Middle mesa. It was not a burial cave, but was filled with a mass of ceremonial objects, baskets, and jars, many of which were sealed and intact. Circumstances made it impossible to examine the contents of the jars.

[1] Since the above description was written in 1912, the authorities have at last succeeded in establishing the license-and-priest method.

A Cave at Middle Mesa*

sessions from his wife's house; and a woman may inform her husband that he is no longer welcome there, or in his absence she may simply but eloquently pile his effects outside the door.

After the head of a deceased Hopi has been washed with yucca suds by the paternal grandmother or aunt, or some other female relative, and white grains of corn have been rubbed into the hair, the male relatives on the father's side prepare four pahos, which they bind on the forehead of the body, so that the feathers cover the face, and a *pŏtavi*,[1] which they arrange with the feather on the mouth and the string extending down along the breast and stomach to the navel. This *pŏtavi* is the "breath string," and symbolizes the breath, or soul. To the hair at the crown of the head they tie a downy eagle-feather, which by its lightness symbolizes the soul floating away to the world of the dead.

The body is then arrayed in its best garments, and with a small quantity of piki and dried meat on its breast, is wrapped in a blanket from head to foot. A slit is cut over the face for the egress of the soul. Generally a blood brother is the one who digs a grave among the rocks at the base or on the slopes of the mesa and carries the corpse down on his back. The grave is a circular pit just large enough to accommodate the body in a sitting posture with the knees drawn up to the chin; and sometimes it is lined and roofed with stones before the covering of earth is added. Caves also are much used. The corpse is set with its face eastward, and before covering it with earth or roofing it over with stones, relatives drop into the grave ornaments of trifling value and bits of ceremonial paraphernalia once used by the deceased. A gourd of water and a dish of food are placed either in the stone cell or near the earthen grave, that the spirit may have sustenance during the four days it remains in the corpse and the four days of its journey to the home of the dead. Finally they thrust into the earth above the grave a long paho, and a stick to serve as a ladder for the spirit. Four times on their way back to the village one of the men stops, and, without looking back, draws each time four parallel marks across the trail with a bit of charcoal, in order to prevent the ghost from haunting the village and perhaps taking with it the spirit of any other member of the household.

On the following day all the members of the family, and those who were present at the interment, wash their heads, and the man

[1] *Pŏhû*, road; *ta*, laid; *vi*, there. A *pŏtavi* is a cotton string attached at one end to a downy feather. It represents the road of life, hence life itself

who carried the corpse goes down to deposit food on the grave and to see if it has been disturbed. The absence of evidence of digging by animals is taken as a good sign, while the contrary condition portends very bad luck. Nothing however can be done to avert the impending, unknown evil.

The outward show of sorrow is limited to wailing on several successive days, in which the women are especially prominent.

It is believed that after four days the soul leaves the body and goes to the under world, *más-ki* ("corpse house"), wearing the Kachina mask which the living person wore at his initiation into the Kachina order; and a woman who has not been initiated into this order is thought to wrap about her the small blanket that is given to every child at the age of five or six years. Before reaching *más-ki* the spirit arrives at the brink of a high cliff, but spreading out his spirit blanket, which accompanies each soul, he floats gently down into the valley and soon reaches a large village of stone houses, the ladders of which are long, fragile, sunflower stalks. Sometimes the spirit of a person not truly dead comes to *más-ki*, but on attempting to mount a ladder he breaks the stalks, and the shock of falling sends him back to this world of consciousness. The spirit of one who has committed evil in this life encounters many difficulties, for his trail lies through beds of cactus, and at various places he comes upon heaps of parched corn, where, though he consumes but one grain in a year, he must remain until every grain has been eaten. At the edge of the cliff stands a huge, powerful man, who seizes the evildoer and with four preliminary movements casts him down to the bottom, where he is destroyed against the jagged rocks. But this final fatal punishment is reserved for those who by wrong counsel brought misery and misfortune upon their people. The ordinary misdemeanors, such as lying, stealing, adultery, are sufficiently expiated by the trail through cactus thorns and the heaps of parched corn, and those who have erred only in these matters float safely down over the cliff to *más-ki*.

In former times the property of a deceased man or woman was usually seized by the father's clansmen, but occasionally they were merciful and left a portion to the children. When they made away with the whole, the children were cared for by their own clansmen, that is, by their mother's relatives. This custom no longer prevails, and property is regularly inherited by the children.

Land is held by the clans, and within the clan by the women. It is cultivated by the husband of the woman who happens to hold

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HOPI BRIDAL COSTUME

it for the clan, and is bequeathed to her eldest daughter. There are however some plots that are controlled by certain officials during their incumbency: thus, the chief of the Wŭwûfsim-wimi fraternity has the use of about twenty acres, and another piece is for the use of the Yóy-asi-taka, who looks after places struck by lightning.

If a woman dies without daughters, the land is bequeathed to her eldest son, and when he bequeathes it either to daughter or to son it of course passes out of the hands of her clan. There is some agricultural land not claimed by any clan, and any man who clears and cultivates it becomes its possessor; but as he must bequeath it to his daughter, if he has one, it ultimately becomes a possession of his wife's clan. Land cannot be sold, but the use of it may be sold for the period of the purchaser's life.

The house, though largely built by the man, as well as all household furnishings and utensils, is owned by the woman and inherited by the eldest daughter; and if there is not room in the house for the families of the other daughters, they must have houses of their own built by their husbands. The woman is also the sole owner of the crops produced from her land, and if she choose to divorce her husband after the harvest season, she may do so and still keep the entire crop. When she puts her husband's personal effects outside the door as a delicate intimation that she no longer desires his companionship, there must be no delay in his removal of them, lest some passerby appropriate them; in which case there is no redress nor any word of remonstrance from the loser. Women own few sheep. In spite of this apparent exaltation of woman, the Hopi man is the true head and master of his household; and to the honor of the woman it must be said that she seldom abuses her privilege.

Corn was the principal primitive food of the Hopi, but because of the crudeness of their implements no great quantity could be raised. Brush and weeds could be removed only by trampling them down and pulling them out by hand. In planting, the dibble was used, as it still is,[1] and the ground was broken up by means of the *wikya*, a stick about three feet long with a broad, fairly sharp end, which was used with a motion like that imparted to a canoe paddle, the sharp edge tearing up the ground. While the process was excessively laborious and limited the amount of land that could be successfully cultivated, another factor was no less important, namely, the constant fear of marauding Navaho or Ute, if the farmer went too far from the village. It is said that a harvest of four or five baskets

[1] Since this was written the horse-drawn cultivator is a familiar sight in the Hopi fields.

of corn for each individual was the average. Because of the comparative scarcity of food, restraint was necessarily exercised in their eating, so that it is said to have been customary to eat with the left forearm across the abdomen, the first feeling of distention perceptible to the arm being a signal to desist. Cornmeal was commonly prepared in the form of a pudding, or a thick mush, and it was a rule that only the first two joints of one forefinger should be dipped into the common dish. When a child was detected using two fingers, there were remarks concerning greediness, the tone of which was such as effectively to check gastronomic enthusiasm. In fact children were frequently disciplined in the matter of food. About the middle of a meal the small boys might hear this: "You must stop now. Some time you may have to go on a long journey, when you will be unable to carry all the food you would like. You will then have very little to eat, and you must begin now to make yourself capable of living on little." To a small girl her parents would say: "Go now to the grinding stones and finish your meal there!" And the little one would repair to the mealing trough and take up her task. Sometimes a child would desire a drink of water in the middle of a meal; a fatal mistake, for the parent was sure to say quickly: "Do not drink in the house. Go outside to drink." Which of course was only a polite way of intimating that the meal was ended.

At the meal no prayer is offered, but each person, including children, throws aside a bit of food as an offering to the supernatural beings, and not to any particular deity. During the meal one of the older men usually cries out, "*Távu* ['rabbit']!" and the small boys present reply, "*Nû távu nínani* ['I rabbit will-kill']!" For it is supposed that if the boys have rabbits in mind while eating, they will soon kill one.

The Hopi maintain that they, unlike the Zuñi, have always had the custom of eating thrice daily: a hot meal morning and evening, and a noon meal consisting mainly of piki, which also is the food carried by travellers in a deerskin bag at the belt. The slender store of corn, beans, and dried squash was eked out by the roots and seeds of numerous species of plants.

After harvest the ripened ears of corn of all imaginable colors are neatly arranged in stacks, like so much firewood, in the storerooms at the back of the living quarters, and as meal is required it is ground on the mealing stones by girls and young women. Throughout the early part of the day trios of grinders may be seen kneeling at their task, black hair neatly combed and bunched below each ear

A Cornfield

or tied in an elaborate whorl above the ear; broad, white-and-red belts confining the short, blue-black, sleeveless tunic; strong, shapely arms bared to shoulders that with slow rhythm rise and fall as the rubbing stones crush the grains and gradually reduce the coarse fragments to fine flour. Occasionally their voices unite melodiously in one of the grinding songs, and bits of gossip are exchanged. Typical of these melodies is the Dragonfly song.

Hakámi-pa ítamũ yóy-nanaqûsa?
where-go ever we rain go

Hakámi-pa sikyá-vatalaßi tíyotũ, saqá-vatalaßi mánatũ? Hẽẽ . . . . .
where-go ever yellow dragonfly boys blue dragonfly maids

Ámonĩni hewílaina.[1] *Kóßini-naa kóhaya talávahayi.*[1]
excellent growing corn yellow-corn-maids these

Hápimẽẽ . . . . ! Kyápĩpai ómõũ ómĩ kûíva.
perhaps cloud above appear

Pẽo, pẽo yóy-wũnú-toni. Pẽo, pẽo yóy-wũnú-toni.
here here rain stand will here here rain stand will

Pẽo táwati yóy-wũnú-toni nalõ-nĩnĕ-vĕwii.
here ready in turn rain stand will four directions side-by-side

Hayatalavahayi, ahayai, ahayai! Haiya, haiya, hayatalavahayi, hẽ!

"Where, I wonder, shall we Rains go?
Where, I wonder, will they go, the Yellow Dragonfly Boys, the Blue Dragonfly Maids?
Excellent growing corn! These Yellow-corn Maids ———
Clouds perhaps will appear up yonder.
Here, here, the Rain will stand. Here, here, the Rain will stand.
From each of the four directions Rain will come side by side."

The commonest food derived from corn is *píki*, a paper-thin bread baked on a smoothly polished stone moderately heated by a fire beneath it. There is usually a small separate room, which at Walpi is commonly below the street level at the edge of the cliff, in which the fireplace and the piki baking stone are found. In making piki the very finest meal is scalded, and water in which ashes of salt bush (*sṹovi*, *Atriplex canescens*), which contain a very high percentage of potash, have been soaking is strained into it through a clean besom. The ashes impart a faint bluish tinge, which, however, is only one of the desired results, the other being the slightly piquant flavor and leavening effect of the potash. The mixture is worked into a dough, and then cold water is added until a thin batter is obtained, a film of which is spread over the heated stone with two

[1] Said to be Keres words.

or three swift movements of the hand. In a few seconds the thin sheet is carefully stripped off and laid aside, to be returned in the reverse position above another film of batter. After an even briefer baking on this side it is laid on a basketry tray, to be folded and refolded, with a number of other sheets, into a neat packet, which closely resembles a package of colored tissue paper. Red blossoms of pigweed, *kúmu* (*Amaranthus paniculatus*), which the Hopi believe, probably erroneously to have been introduced by the Spaniards, are dried, pulverized, and added to the batter to impart a pink color, and yellow piki is produced by the addition of the yellow blossoms of *Carthamus tinctorius*, which the Hopi call *asápzani*. Sometimes two films of different colors are spread on the baking stone, and a two-colored sheet is the result. White, or uncolored, piki is sometimes made of white cornmeal.

Píkami ("buried piki") is a baked pudding. Fine meal of white corn is scalded and stirred, and with cold water is mixed into a pasty mass. A small bowl of meal that has been masticated and allowed to ferment by action of the saliva is then stirred in, and half of the batter is poured into a large jar, which is carried out and set on the coals in a *píkami* pit, in which a fire has been burning all day. The pit is about eighteen inches in diameter and two feet in depth. Then the remainder of the batter is poured in until the vessel is full to the brim, a slab of stone is laid over the pit, the crevices are stopped with clay, and a fire of charcoal is placed on the stone. The pudding bakes all night. *Píkami* is prepared on Totókya day of all ceremonies and is eaten on the following day, whence an alternative name of this final day is Píkamnovi. This pudding may be baked in another way. In a small stone oven outside the house a fire is built, and the batter is arranged in layers separated by cornhusks until there is a pile about twelve inches high, which is then set in the oven on a bed of stones over the embers, after which the oven is sealed with a stone slab and clay. Sugar instead of masticated meal is now generally used.

At the present time wheat flour obtained from traders is much used at Walpi. This flour they make into yeast bread, which they bake in outdoor ovens of the Mexican hemispherical type, or in the stoves that are now found in nearly all the houses. Both ovens and stoves are very recent innovations. Before using the outdoor oven the housewife casts over the heated floor, which has first been swept clean of embers, a handful of moistened corn hulls from the grinding stones and by the length of time required to brown them she judges

Grinding Meal

if the temperature is right. If it is still too hot, she sprinkles water over the floor by means of a besom.[1]

Besides the two staple foods, piki and pikami, the Hopi make a great many less common preparations of corn. The green ears of sweet-corn in the husk are roasted in pits with heated stones, and the ripened grains are parched. Cornmeal balls (*pövŏ̂hl-piki*, round piki) are fine meal mixed with ashes, moistened, and dropped into boiling water. There are tamales of several kinds: the "tied-up piki" (*sumí-viki*) consists of a paste of fine meal and water from boiled ashes, which is rolled in a cornhusk and baked in hot ashes; *táṇû-viki* is like it, except that the meal is coarse and it is baked in a pit with heated stones; "hot-sand piki" (*nák-viki*) is green corn cut from the cob, crushed, made into balls, and baked in cornhusks in hot ashes; "double-pointed piki" (*chûkŭ-viki*) is the same material rolled in corn-leaves, the pointed ends of which give it the name. The water for gruel is either infused with potash, or not. The Hopi have always had both field-corn and sweet-corn. The former is used in the various cooked preparations, the latter is eaten roasted on the ear, roasted and parched, or roasted, dried, and ground into a fine and tasty meal called *tósi*.

Mescal (*qáni*), the roasted fleshy base of the agave, used to be secured regularly from the Apache and the Havasupai, the latter of whom usually sent traders to the Hopi country in the late autumn. Piñon-nuts were an important and nutritious food, and juniper-berries and the fruit of the prickly-pear cactus (*Opuntia*) and the yucca were appreciated. Various wild plants were eaten as pot-herbs, and salt was regularly used.

The principal animals used for food by the Hopi were antelope, deer, bear, mountain-sheep, wildcat, porcupine, badger, fieldmouse, woodrat, squirrel, rabbit, jack-rabbit, and gopher. Rabbits and jack-rabbits furnished the bulk of the meat, the importance of these rodents being shown by the fact that the rabbit-drive is called simply *mákiwa* ("hunt"). It is the hunt *par excellence*.

Any man who desires to do so may institute a rabbit-hunt, and become its chief, by going to *mákchalóuṇwŭká* ("hunt announce the-one"), the rabbit-hunt crier, who is always a member of the Rabbit division of the Tobacco clan, and asking him to announce a hunt. The crier then on the following morning bids the men round up their burros and horses during the day; and in the evening the hunt chief

[1] In 1919 the Mexican ovens observed in 1911–1912 had disappeared, but stoves were more common than ever.

goes to the crier, who gives him food and receives in return a cigarette. The crier informs the chief of the hunt just where it will be held, and exactly how the game will be surrounded, going into considerable detail; after which he mounts to the housetop and repeats all this in a public announcement.

In the morning the chief of the hunt goes to the selected place and in a small hole in the sand he lays four *naqáqŭsi* so that the four feathers are directed toward the cardinal points. From each feather he cuts the cotton string, thus as it were destroying the life of the rabbits; for these *naqáqŭsi* are deposited for the rabbits; and on the strings he places rabbit droppings, grass (which is the food of rabbits), and sand on which rabbit tracks are found. Then after kindling a small fire in the hole, he builds a large signal fire, and the hunters begin to assemble, each one placing on the small ceremonial fire some rabbit droppings, grass, and sand on which rabbit tracks appear, and then holding his throwing stick in the smoke. All sit around the signal fire and smoke, and when no more men are seen in the direction of the village, the chief of the hunt sends two men in opposite directions around the edge of the ground to be beaten, and when these two pass each other, the others follow them, spreading about the circle at equal intervals. At the same time the chief covers the small fire with sand, leaving a little opening at the top of the mound. The circle completed, the hunters gradually close in, beating the bushes, poking their sticks into holes, and shouting, and when the space is narrowed down to about two hundred yards in diameter, the frightened rabbits run so close to the men that they may be killed with sticks.

On the occasion when a boy kills his first rabbit he is, or should be, initiated as a hunter. The following narration illustrates the custom.

I was eight years of age, when one day in the cornfield my grandfather and I started for a small spring in an arroyo, having exhausted our supply of water. On the way I saw a jack-rabbit sleeping under a bush, and pointed it out to my grandfather, who threw a club and struck but did not kill it. I ran and seized it, and my grandfather held it up by the legs and made me strike it on the head and kill it. On the way home that evening he told me I must be initiated as a hunter. So he went at once to a man of the Bear clan and asked him to be my father in the initiation, and about sunset the Bear man placed me facing the north and bending over, and he held the rabbit behind me and drew it away toward himself. He turned me successively to the west, the south, and the east, and repeated this act.

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A Melon Field

From Copyright Photograph 1904 by E. S. Curtis

A Melon Field

During the next two days I was not allowed to eat meat nor salt, and each morning for four days my godfather, the Bear man, took me to the spring before breakfast and both of us bathed. On the evening of the third day was announced a rabbit-hunt, of which I was to be the chief, and the next day I was dressed and painted like an initiate into the Kachina order, and accompanied the hunters.

Before starting on an antelope-hunt or a deer-hunt, the chief of the party sent two runners to discover where the tracks of these animals were most numerous. At the first camp they made *naqáqŭsi* for Másôŭ, god of germination, and for Tíhkûyi, mythical mother of all the large game animals, for the Súmaikuli, mythical keepers of the animals, for the beasts of prey, such as cougar and those others that understand the art of hunting, for Tŭ́tsqa ("land"), and for Táwa ("sun"). Not only the chief but each member of the party made a *naqáqŭsi* for each of these deities, and the offerings were arranged in six piles. Then, some hours after dark, five men, including the chief, carried five of these heaps of prayer-plumes from the camp, and standing in single file they deposited them on the ground and listened intently for what sound they might hear, as an indication of what would happen on the morrow. Invariably the five men heard as many different sounds. On the following morning the sixth lot of prayer-feathers was offered to the rising sun.

Antelope and deer were hunted in the warmest weather. Each man carried his bow and arrows and throwing stick, water in a small netted gourd with an opening in the stem stopped by a corncob, and a small bag of piki. A numerous party would visit the buttes or mountains and there form a large circle, with a few men inside for the purpose of keeping the animals constantly running, and thus they would drive the animals back and forth until the creatures were so exhausted that they either stood still and were easily shot, or else fell and were clubbed to death. Mountain-sheep were hunted like deer, and were more easily taken because they were found in such places as offered ready means for driving them into a *cul de sac*. Bears were never the object of a hunt, and the meat was used only when one happened to be killed. Such expeditions as these usually lasted three days, one of which was devoted to butchering the game and cutting the meat into strips convenient for drying.

Taboo of the flesh of the animal from which one's clan is named does not exist among the Hopi. There are however other taboos. Girls at the time of puberty, and initiates into the fraternities during the period of their confinement in the kiva, eat neither meat nor

salt. A lifelong taboo derived from the Navaho is that which is placed upon a person subject to convulsions. Such a one is not to eat the heart nor the kidneys of any animal, for this disease is supposed to be inflicted by the animals, which, if these vital organs were eaten, would be displeased. He must also not break the piece of fried bread, but must wait for some one else to do this before he takes a portion. Here the idea seems to be that the circular piece of bread with a hole in the centre represents a complete thing, and if he breaks it he will be destroying something, and hence by analogy will endanger his own life. A roll of piki, on the other hand, he is required to break before eating of it. The spirits of the animals are constantly watching such a person to see that he does not infringe any of these rules.

The Hopi have a considerable variety of games. The game *totólospi*, a name referring to the checkerboard marking of charcoal on a flat stone, is played by young men. Seven parallel lines are crossed at right angles by six lines, and two diagonals connect the opposite corners. At the narrower ends of the board, opposite each other, sit the two players, one of whom places twenty pebbles, his "men," on the perpendicular intersections at his side of the board, while the other similarly disposes twenty bits of wood on his own side. Thus two vacant intersections are left on the middle lines. Moves are made along either the rectangular or the diagonal lines, the principle of play being exactly that of checkers, except that there are no kings.

Chómakinta, a word referring to the casting of dice, is the name of a men's game very like parchesi. There are three wooden dice about five inches long and one inch wide, flat on both sides, with one face black and one uncolored. Around a stone disc are arranged in a circle forty smaller flat stones, divided into quadrants by four diametrically opposite openings. The players, two or more in number, are divided into two "sides," but regardless of the number of players there are but two "men," both of which start from the same opening and move in opposite directions. One "man" passing or coming upon the other while the latter lies in a gap "kills" him, and compels him to begin afresh. The three dice are thrown end downward upon the central disc. For one black face exposed the count is one; for two black faces, three; for all black, five; for all white, ten, with the privilege of another cast. Once around wins the wager, and in finishing it is not necessary to throw a number that would bring the "man" exactly to the last gap.

Sosótŭkpi ("guessing at it"), the cup-game, is played only during

Detroit Copyright Photograph 1901 by E.H. Hurlbut

WALLED GARDENS AT MIDDLE MESA

[illegible] At Mission Mesa

the winter moon Pá-mûya. Primarily it is a ceremonial game in which the masked Kachinas play against a number of women, but it is also played for amusement by young or middle-aged men in the kivas. Four cylindrical cups of cottonwood about three inches in diameter and five inches high are called *Bósivŭ*. The game between Kachinas and women takes place in the open. Singing and beating a drum, the women sit closely together, one of their number standing before the others with an outspread blanket, and arrange the four cups in one of a number of geometrical figures, such as a square, a rhomb, a straight line extending either laterally or toward the opposing players, or a triangle with its apex toward the opponents and the fourth cup in advance of the apex. Under one cup a pebble or a grain of corn is hidden. Then the blanket is lowered, and the Kachina leader approaches and deliberately knocks over the cups, one by one. If the pebble is exposed by either of his first two guesses there is no count for either side. But if it is not under either of the first two cups, he then carefully knocks over a third one amidst the most intense excitement. If the pebble is then exposed, his side has won a point and takes possession of the cups; but if not, he has lost a point and the cups are retained by the women, who set them up in a different arrangement. In the space between the two opposing parties is a thin covering of ashes, in which two sets of four parallel marks have been drawn with the finger-tip. A small tally stick (*sóata*, his grandfather) lies at each end of the series, and when a point is won, the winner lays his tally stick in the first finger-mark. If this side wins again the stick is advanced to the second mark, but the moment a point is lost the counter must be returned to the end of the series. In order to win a game therefore, eight consecutive points must be won. In this ceremonial form of the game the Kachinas are careful to permit the women to win, and at the end of the play the women give them the pahos they have prepared, and receive as their reward various kinds of seeds, which are regarded as symbols of abundant crops.

Táchi ("ball") is a form of shinny, in which a ball of wool covered with deerskin is placed in a shallow hole and covered with sand at the middle of a course about a hundred yards long. At each end of the ground is a little three-sided and roofed cell of stones, the *táchi-ki* ("ball house"), with the open side toward the centre of the field. One player from each side of three to ten men stands beside the buried ball, facing his opponents' goal, while the other players are scattered over the field. At a signal one of the two delivers

a blow at the ball, then the other strikes, and so they continue until it is uncovered and driven toward one of the goals. A point is won by sending it into the "ball house" of the opposing side. This game is played in the spring by men, and young girls sometimes play it among themselves. For amusement men build a small embankment at the base of a slope, and then drive a shinny ball up the hill again and again as it rolls down the embankment.

Mûzíko-nanavō ("stick gambling") is played by men returning from the cornfields, when they divide into two parties, each man selecting a stick for throwing. One casts his stick ahead, and the players of the two sides alternate in throwing their missiles toward it, each endeavoring to place his own closer to the first stick than his predecessor's, until one fails to do so. When one side gains five consecutive points the game is won. A skein of yarn, a pair of woollen leggings, a piece of deerskin large enough for a pair of moccasins, are common wagers.

Hó-nanavō ("arrow gambling") is played by two opposing sides of about four men each. Through each of two small mounds of sand about fifty yards apart an arrow is thrust horizontally, with the point directed toward the other mound. A section of hollow, cylindrical bone is balanced on each arrow near the point. Taking their stand at one mound, the contestants shoot in turn at the bone on the arrow in the other, and the side which sends an arrow through the bone wins four points, after which all repair to that mound and one point is claimed by the side whose missile is closest to the arrow in the mound. Eight consecutive points decide a wager, and each member of the vanquished gives one arrow to one of the victorious contestants.

In the winter moon Pá-mûya, boys, and sometimes girls, play at whipping rather rudely shaped tops of piñon wood. A thong or cotton cord attached to a short stick is wrapped about the top, which is set spinning with a quick jerk and is whipped forward in a race about the village or around a group of houses.

At the time of the Nimán Kachina dance little boys not yet initiated into the Kachina order play a game with the arrows which they suppose the supernatural Kachinas to have brought them, but which in reality their fathers have made. A bunch of corn-leaves three inches in diameter and a foot long, wrapped with yucca-leaves, is thrown forward a short distance, and the boys shoot at it, the first who transfixes it taking all the arrows that have missed it. Then,

* The outer point of rock has partially collapsed since the picture was made.

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THE STAIRWAY TRAIL AT WALPI

From Copyright Photograph 1911 by E. H. Hall

THE STAIRWAY TRAIL AT WALPI

the stalk having been thrown a little farther forward, the boy who has just won shoots at it all the arrows he has taken, and those that pierce the mark he keeps for his own, but those that miss go back to their original owners.

For amusement, and not for wagering, young men in two parallel lines would throw at a rolling hoop of cornhusks wrapped with yucca-leaves a corncob with a sharp stick in one end and two flight feathers at the other. The hoop was rolled back and forth between the lines by two men, who stood at opposite ends.

Sȯ̊ṇö-wûṇpa ("corncob kicking") is a contest between men of the same kiva. In winter-time the men gather in their respective kivas to pass the time in spinning yarn, weaving cloth, and telling stories; and to break the monotony they sometimes divide into two parties and choose leaders, each side providing itself with a *sȯ̊ṇö*, a bunch of four corncobs to which a cord is attached in such manner that there is left a loop into which the toes fit snugly. One *sȯ̊ṇö* is black, the other white. Then the two leaders lie on their backs at the foot of the kiva ladder with their heads toward the fireplace and attempt to fling their *sȯ̊ṇö* up through the hatchway. Usually many attempts are necessary before success is attained. When a missile goes flying out through the hatchway, those to whom it belongs rush after it, and the first one to reach it throws himself down on his back and kicks it over his head toward the beginning of the Stairway trail. In this fashion the two parties race down the trail, around Tawâ-pa spring at the foot of the trail, and back into the kiva. It occasionally happens that on the return a *sȯ̊ṇö* is accidentally flung over the edge of the cliff, and it must then be recovered and brought back in the usual way. Before the start they roll balls of blue corn-meal about small pebbles, making them the size of the fist, and place them in the fire to bake, and these "round piki" are claimed by the winners.

The "kicking race" (*wûṇpa-nanámŭṇwa*) is a contest between the members of the different kivas, and is held only in the spring. Each kiva has a ball somewhat smaller than the fist and made of stone, piñon-gum, or a micaceous mineral that has been calcined, powdered, mixed with urine, and formed into a ball before it hardens. The leaders of the respective parties take position near the foot of the western trail that descends from the Gap, and the other runners spread out ahead of them. At a signal the leaders throw the ball forward by means of the bare foot, and the other contestants run after the missiles, each party kicking its own ball forward along a

course that encircles the southern end of the mesa, crosses the valley eastward as far as the wash, follows the wash to the Keams Canyon road, turns westward along the road, and mounts the trail past the ruin Kisakobi to the first terrace. The distance is said to be about six miles. There is no ceremonial significance in the contest, which is merely a trial of endurance and fleetness between the members of the five kivas. Sometimes this race is run over a course of about fifteen miles, starting at the same place, but proceeding to the foot of the mesa that lies to the northwest, then southward to the arroyo between East and Middle mesas, to the foothills southeast of Walpi, northward to the Keams Canyon road, and back toward the village and up the trail to the first terrace. In these days few of those who enter the race are able to finish the course.

One hears remarkable stories about Hopi distance running, such, for example, as that familiar one of the man who used to run forty miles to his cornfield, hoe it, and return home for a late breakfast! But there is no doubt that the Hopi of former generations were stout-hearted runners. Lêtayu, now an old man, avers without apparent pride or boastfulness that he once carried an official letter from Keams Canyon to Fort Wingate in two days, spending the first night at Fort Defiance. On the third morning he left Fort Wingate before "gray dawn" and arrived at Fort Defiance before sunrise. Setting out again at sunrise, he reached Keams Canyon a little after mid-afternoon. The air-line distances involved are: Keams Canyon to Defiance, sixty-three miles; Defiance to Fort Wingate, thirty-eight miles.[1]

The belief in sorcery is firmly held by the Hopi, and though there are no persons openly accused of practising witchcraft, still there are sometimes vague rumors that some certain person, recently deceased, worked in magic. When engaged in their evil practices, these magicians are believed to go about in the form of various animals, such as cats, dogs, lizards, and owls, and usually they are in evidence only about the houses of persons whom they have afflicted with sickness. There are no self-confessed sorcerers, and it is perhaps doubtful whether any person among the Hopi believes himself to be a sorcerer. The healer who works by alleged magic is called *pósi-taka* ("eye man"), because by looking keenly at a patient he learns the nature and seat of the disease. Formerly the medicine-

[1] See page 72, where a war-party travels from Walpi to Ganado, about fifty miles in an air-line, without a camp. Hough, in *American Anthropologist*, X, 36: "To my knowledge, an Oraibi man made a continuous run of 160 miles as bearer of a note and answer."

Hon. Farmers, Yesterday and Today

HOPI FARMERS, YESTERDAY AND

men composed a fraternity called *pós-wimi*, the members of which met in a kiva at the end of the winter solstice ceremony to make pahos for all the supernatural beings, but especially for the Bear and the Badger, two creatures supposed to have special power over disease. Occasionally they permitted spectators to be present while they sang and ate the medicine that imparted power to see what sickness might be affecting the people as a whole.

When an individual patient was being treated, the medicine-man sang his own songs "in his mind"; but if disease was rife among the people, or if the medicine-man, fearing that an epidemic threatened, desired to "look into the people," he had several singers to assist him.

In ancient times neither shamans nor herb doctors would take pay for their services. They would accept gifts of food, but not of property, and if a patient gave a healer an article of value, it was left on the ground and the first person who happened along took it for his own.

The subject of shamanism among the Hopi can perhaps best be discussed by quoting Lomá-si ("pretty flower"), the only surviving member of the fraternity at Walpi.

When I was a little boy my father died, and though my mother was living, I was a kind of outcast. Nobody paid any attention to me. My mother had a cornfield northeast of Ós-teika [*ǒsvi*, promontory, near the place now called Five Houses], but some of our relatives wanted it for themselves because it was a piece of good land. I spent most of my time there, taking care of the field; and because the soil was good, my mother and I managed to come through the time of famine when so many people either moved away or died.

There was a certain man named Kâni, a member of my father's clan and therefore my brother, who was *pósi-taka*. He befriended me, and when he had won my confidence I went to live with him. I was arriving at manhood when one night he said: "I have been studying the people, and I have been studying you, and I cannot find anyone else worthy of my secrets. Tell this to your mother, and see what she says." But when I told my mother, she said very little, only: "*Haó!* It is a difficult thing to be a medicine-man, for one must endure blame and accusations." She did not wish to encourage me. When my relatives knew what Kâni proposed, they made objections; nevertheless in a short time he sent me again to my mother, who merely remarked, "*Haó!*" I continued to live with Kâni, and during this time he assured me that it is not difficult to be a medicine-man, only that the people make it hard. My relatives, he said, were trying to frighten me, and unless I consented to be a medicine-man they would always oppose me on account of

the land. "But if you will be one of us," he said, "they will respect you and will give you no more trouble." For the third time then I asked my mother for her permission, but still she said only, "*Haó!*" My relatives however kept actively opposing me, while Káni continued to urge me to accept his offer so that I might get out of trouble. For the fourth time he sent me to my mother, and at last she consented.

At that time there were three *pówustû* [irregular plural of *pósi-taka*]. My relatives on my father's side still opposed my purpose, but they could do nothing, and it was understood that at the coming celebration of the winter solstice ceremony I would become one of the medicine-men. When the ceremony was over, on that very night they called me into Wiqálvi kiva, where they always assembled. With the three medicine-men were five men who sang for them when a patient was being treated. They knew nothing about the secrets. I was placed before the three medicine-men, and after the singers had been dismissed, three smooth crystals, each somewhat larger than a bean, were laid in a row beside the fire. They told me to remove my clothing and sit beside the fireplace, and Káni, the leader, took one of the crystals, and while singing he slapped it against my breast over the heart. This was to give me a heart as hard and strong as the crystal. He rubbed it about over this spot and then asked if I felt something, and though I answered no, he nevertheless said aloud, "It is well done!" Then the next man did the same thing, and thus I received the heart of a *pósi-taka*. This ceremony they called *ûnáṇ-vana* ["heart put-in"]. At the conclusion Káni told me that at the next winter solstice ceremony I would have my head washed and would take *náhû* ["medicine"], and that before that time my mother and my female relatives on her side were to fill four new baskets with cornmeal, to procure a new cooking-pot, a new jar, a deerskin without holes, and a new piki tray, all of which were to be given to him in return for making me a medicine-man in his place.

During the next year my uncles kept trying to make me afraid of being a medicine-man, and when winter came, on the night my head was to be washed all relatives in the Badger clan assembled at my home to dissuade me. "It is not well for you to be *pósi-taka*," they said. "You will have a hard time all through your life. If you do this, one of our family will die." For it was believed that when a man joined the medicine-men one of his relatives would soon die, and that by means of the life of this person the medicine-men accomplished their cures. Káni said nothing, and after they had talked for a time, I became afraid, and declined to go further in my initiation. So the next day I did not go to the kiva for the head-washing.

A little while after that Káni explained to me that this discouragement by the relatives was always a part of the initiation, and he took the blame upon himself in that he had failed to warn me to sit quietly

A Hopi Woman

and let them talk. But he said I could complete my initiation at the next winter solstice ceremony, and at that time he would have another medicine-man talk for me and answer the objections of my relatives. In the course of the year, however, the man who was to talk for me died, and Káni began to tell me the secrets of his order, fearing that he and the other medicine-man might die and the secrets be lost forever. He said: "Do not go among the people to cure them. Wait until they come to you and ask you to help them in time of sickness. If the first one is of the Bear clan, that is best, and if he is of the Firewood, that is all right. But the Bear is first. If a Bear clansman is the first to come to you, make every effort to cure him, and if you succeed you will always be successful; for the Bear is a very strong medicine-man. It is by thinking hard and constantly of curing the sick man that you will succeed. Thinking of nothing else, you will cure him." Káni died before the next winter solstice ceremony, so that there was no *pósi-taka* living at Walpi, as the remaining one of the three lived at Shongopavi, he having been in the habit of joining with the Walpi medicine-men in their meeting because there were no others at his own village. Though my initiation was never completed, nevertheless I was a medicine-man.

From that time on I waited according to the advice of Káni, and nobody came to be cured. At last all the other medicine-men in all the Hopi villages were dead. I began to wonder about the sayings of Káni. One day I was chopping wood, when somebody spoke to me. I turned and saw one of the Bear clan of Hano, a woman, who said: "I have brought this little boy to you. He is very ill." I took the boy into my house and looked at him, rubbed him with my hands and blew on them to dispel the sickness. Constantly I was thinking of healing the boy, and soon he was well. Since that time I have been practising this constantly, curing many people. For twenty years after my initiation I was silent, but since that boy was brought to me I have been healing the sick. All the medicine-men among the Hopi have died, except me.

The Hopi herb doctors (*tȧ̆hikya*) make use of a very large number of roots and leaves, as well as some earthy substances and animal excretions, practically all of them empirically. Open sores and inflamed eyes are treated by the application of crushed green leaves of *möö̧ntoshavĕ* (*Poliomintha incana*), a small brushy shrub. Pulverized *tokótoti'ka* root is spread around the edges of a cut, and a small bit is eaten. It is not put into the cut, lest the wound grow together before it has healed inside. When the cut is very bad, the roots of *ßozó-si* ("bluebird flower," apparently larkspur) and *wíhqapi* are pulverized and placed about it, and if the cut is slow in healing, pulverized beans are used. Incipient boils are treated by

applying the root of *ánchiaivi*, previously warmed on a hot stone. This checks the boil (*pînö*), which does not "come to a head." If however the remedy is not employed in time, a leaf of the large prickly-pear cactus (*Opuntia*) is split and one-half is placed on the boil. This draws out the pus. To aid in bringing the boil to a head a very hot poultice of cornmeal is sometimes applied.

The leaves of *sivápi*, rabbit-brush (*Chrysothamnus graviolens*), are moistened and applied with heated stones to swellings and bruises, and crushed leaves of *máövi* (*Chrysothamnus filifolius*) are used in the same manner for swellings and sprains. Bruises are sometimes treated by the application of a warm stone, which in some cases is wet with urine. When a bruise swells, juniper-leaves are applied. To reduce a swelling of the legs, *kûŋya*, *kawík-ŋa* (*Croton texensis*), and *pámnavi*, snakeweed (*Gutierrezia juncea*), are used. A heated stone is placed in a clay vessel and water is poured in. Then the herbs are added and the vessel is set under a blanket which covers the bare legs of the patient. This is a Cloud clan secret.

For broken bones the flesh is bathed with a decoction of the roots of *masí-laʃi* (*Solidago missouriensis*), and water in which crushed roots of *palá-ŋa* have soaked is drunk. The bones are set and bandaged with splints, and a root of *palá-ŋa* is tied to the splints to allay inflammation. After the fracture has knitted, a decoction of the roots of *tokótoti'ka*, *kŏs-ŋa*, and *pasíp-ŋa* (*Astragalus pictus filifolius*) is drunk, in order that the "flesh may fill up again." It is said that until very recent years there were among the Hopi some skilful bone-setters, who were exceedingly well acquainted with the human anatomy as regards the bones, tendons, and ligaments. They treated nothing except fractures and dislocations, and were known as *öká-tûhikya* ("bone doctor").

Máövi (*Chrysothamnus filifolius*) is a yellow-flowering herb, the boiled roots of which yield a liquid that is drunk to cure constipation, an ailment known as *qitá-ʃûni* ("excrement sticks"). The decoction of the roots of *mûyítka* and *wíhtaiiŋwa* (*Psoralea micrantha*) is taken as a physic. *Máövi* root is chewed to overcome indigestion (*ŭnáŋ-tûya*, heart sick), and in combination with the root of *kotóksûlvi* (*Parryella filifolia*) for belching caused by overeating. Diarrhœa (*pá-qûʃsi*, water running) is cured by the decoction of the root of *pámnavi* (*Gutierrezia juncea*). The roots of *pámnavi*, *poáwi* (*Eriogonum effusum*), *návû* (*Opuntia*), and *yŏŋö* (a small *Opuntia*), are mixed and boiled with cobwebs found in the burrows of mice, and the decoction is administered for diarrhœa

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IN THE CRADLE-BASKET

and vomiting, a condition called *naqámyama* ("both ways comes out"). This medicine is used also for measles, because diarrhœa accompanies this malady. There is no name for measles, the diarrhœa and not the eruption being regarded as the serious thing.

The decoction of the roots of a small, gray-leaved plant called *chachák-tavotka* (*Eurotia lanata*) and the roots of *piván-ṇa* ("weasel medicine") is administered to those suffering from inactive kidneys, a condition believed to be caused by cruelty on the part of the sufferer toward the rabbits. The malady is called *sisí-ûßte* ("urine shut-up").

After childbirth women drink a decoction of the roots of *ŏsvi* (*Ephedra torreyana*), *poáwi* (*Eriogonum effusum*), *wíhtaiiṇwa* (*Psoralea micrantha*), and *chachák-tavótka* (*Eurotia lanata*) to check the hemorrhage (*ŭṇchavoti*, blood flow). Juniper-leaves also are boiled, and the water is taken internally to heal the inflammation and stop the discharge. A decoction of the roots of *paláksö-ṇa* and *poáwi* is used for the same purpose. If the patient catches cold, a decoction of the entire plant *ßó-si* is drunk. For swelling of the womb a decoction of *wíhtaiiṇwa* (*Psoralea micrantha*) is administered internally. To increase the flow of milk *tuwŭpki* (*Boerhaavia purpurascens*) and *pí-ṇa* (*Asclepias verticillata*) are boiled and the liquid is drunk. Roots of *tótimŭ* ("boys") and *kößá-tótimŭ* ("white boys") are boiled to make a medicine for sterility.

For rheumatism (*napálni*) the Hopi employ a decoction of the root of *napál-ṇa* (*Artemisia tridentata*), and for gonorrhœa (*qasí-tûyû*, penis sickness, and *lŏwá-tûyû*, vulva sickness) a decoction of the roots of *napál-ṇa*, *masí-tûsaka* (*Artemisia bigelovii*), *kotóksûlvi* (*Parryella filifolia*), and *ûyŏû-ṇa* is drunk. The Hopi have the belief current among the Kwakiutl and allied tribes that a woman afflicted with this disease gets rid of a small portion of it each time she has intercourse, and that finally by this means she can entirely rid herself of the malady.

For fits (*tŭskyavû*) the pulverized roots of *taṇŭna* and *wih-taṇŭna* ("greasy *taṇŭna*") and the pulverized leaves of *pasómi* and *wikyaí-mûßi* are dissolved in water, which is taken internally. When the case is very serious, the roots of *náksöpsiwi*, *hési* (*Calochortus aureus*), *palá-ṇa*, and the mosses *tûwá-si* ("earth flower") and *owá-si* ("rock flower"), are all crushed and mixed with water, which is drunk. When the patient is very ill with this affliction, the healer takes the leaves of six plants, fills a pipe and gives him four puffs, which usually cause fainting. Then the healer smokes the pipe and blows the smoke

on the patient. These six plants are two varieties of sage, *chachákviva* ("small tobacco"), *wûhákwûß-viva* ("large-leaved tobacco"), *kûßípsö* (*Dithyraea wislizeni*), and *sûovi* (*Atriplex canescens*). *Kûßípsö* (*kûßípsi*, armpit) is so named because children sometimes in play place the leaves of this plant under the armpit. It produces a stinging, burning sensation like the sting of a bee. When the sufferer from fits falls back in a faint from the smoke, yellow cornmeal is sprinkled on a live ember held on a potsherd, which is placed beneath the patient's nose, and this restores consciousness. Occurring in women, the malady is believed to be caused by some man who takes this means of causing a woman to become irresponsible, so that he may take advantage of her and seduce her. If, however, he is unsuccessful, the disease will react on him. Therefore when a man is thus afflicted, it is thought to be the result of his failure to control and restrain the woman's will-power after he has by magic obtained influence over it. The belief as to the cause and the proper treatment of fits is derived from the Navaho.

Ÿáp-ṇa root is pulverized and mixed with food and thus administered to children suffering from *yávi*, a condition supposed to result from inhaling the breath of a pregnant woman. Women in this condition carefully avoid breathing into the face of a child.

Fat of the bear and of the cougar is eaten and is smeared over the body in cases of smallpox (*páyôŭ*, sores). Mumps (*qáp-osaṇû*, neck swelling) is treated by binding on the jaws and neck a hot poultice of the spongy contents of a gourd (*nösípta-ṇa*) or of squash-blossoms.

Pa-möönṭoshavĕ (*Mentha penardi*), *möönṭoshavĕ* (*Poliomintha incana*), and *tûíßma* are crushed and soaked in water, which is then used both internally and as a wash for the head in cases of headache. Urine also is employed as a head-wash. *Máövi* (*Chrysothamnus filifolius*) root is crushed and inserted in the cavity of an aching tooth. *Ṭaṇá-qita* ("rainbow excrement"), a greasy, waxy substance, usually blackish, covered with pebbles and sand and found adhering to the surface of a rock, is sometimes rolled into a cornhusk cigarette, the smoke of which the healer blows into an aching ear. This is a secret of the Cloud clan. The gummy substance is supposed to be decomposed pollen of all kinds, the excrement of the rainbow, and to be found wherever the foot of the rainbow has rested. The rainbow must never be pointed at, for this causes a sore finger. To heal such a sore, sheep-dung is warmed and applied. Fresh human excrement is smeared on the side to counteract sharp pains in that region.

A Hopi Mother

Photogravure

Letting of blood is practised as a remedy for severe pain, the incision being made directly over the seat of the pain. Formerly a sharp piece of flint was used, but more recently the instrument has been a sliver of glass bound between the ends of two bits of wood. The sharp point of the lancet is held just touching the skin, and the operator gives the other end of the instrument a smart thump, causing the point to penetrate the flesh. The cut is permitted to bleed until it ceases naturally.

Snake bites are treated with four roots, the identity of which is known only to the Snake chief, who gathers and prepares them for use by his fellow Snake priests.

Snow-blindness (*chámoki*) is treated by covering the head with a blanket and placing beneath it a pot containing a few live embers and some pieces of honeycomb. Similar treatment, with paint scraped from a Kachina mask substituted for the honeycomb, is employed against ophthalmia.

It is evident that the Hopi pharmacopœia is extensive. More than sixty vegetal remedies, besides several animal and one mineral product, are mentioned, and some thirty-five maladies. Fantastic remedies and imaginary ailments are remarkably few.

Women are never herb doctors, but there are a few women who treat stomach cramps by massage and assist at childbirth. If parturition is easy, no professional assistance is summoned, but in the few difficult cases either an old man or an old woman may be called in. The midwife gives assistance by placing the arms around the woman's chest from behind, and half lifting her, and sometimes at the same time pressing the knees into the small of her back. The woman sits upright on the floor. Hot applications and hot drinks are not administered. As a rule delivery is easy, the woman simply sitting on the blankets until the infant is born.

Albinism is very common at Middle mesa and Oraibi, but does not occur at the East Mesa villages. The Hopi attach no particular significance to the phenomenon.

There are twelve clans, as follows:

Clan totem	*Clansman, clanspeople*	*Synonyms, or alternative names*
1. Chŭa, Rattlesnake	Chŭ-wŭṇwa, Chŭ-ṇyamŭ	Tóhoŭ, Cougar; Hôwi, Dove; Návŭ, Opuntia Cactus; Pívani, Weasel
2. Ála, Horn	Ál-wŭṇwa, Ál-ṇyamŭ	Lêna,[1] Flute; Sowíiṇwa, Deer; Tsôvioŭ, Antelope; Páṇwŭ, Mountain-sheep; Tsaí-izisa, Elk; Ánŭ, Red Ant

[1] Fewkes calls this Lengva, which apparently is a mispelled form arising from the derivative collective term Lêna-nyamŭ.

Clan totem	*Clansman, clanspeople*	*Synonyms, or alternative names*
3. Pátaṇa, Squash [1]	Pátaṇ-wūṇwa, Pátaṇ-ṇyamū	Atóko, Sandhill Crane
4. Pátki, Cloud [2]	Pátki-wūṇwa, Pátki-ṇyamū	Káö, Corn. Pihkyasa, Green Corn; Pamösi, Fog; Páqaa, Frog
5. Tûwa, Earth	Tûwa-wūṇwa, Tûwa-ṇyamū	Kúkûßi, Lizard
6. Píva, Tobacco	Píp-wūṇwa, Píp-ṇyamū	Távu, Cottontail Rabbit; Sówi, Jack-rabbit
7. Ása, Tansy-mustard [3]	Ás-wūṇwa, Ás-ṇyamū	Hóspoa, Roadrunner; Pósiw'û, Magpie; Qíṇvi, Oak
8. Kaßína, Kachina	Kaßína-wūṇwa, Kaßína-ṇyamū	Sihôvi, Cottonwood; Kyázo, Paroquet
9. Kókop, Firewood	Kókop-wūṇwa, Kókop-ṇyamū	Ísôû, Coyote
10. Pákavi, Reed	Pákap-wūṇwa, Pákap-ṇyamū	Qáhû, Eagle; Táwa, Sun; Masí-qayo, Gray Hawk; Koyúṇu, Turkey
11. Hónôû, Bear	Hónô-wūṇwa, Hónô-ṇyamū	Hßkpa, Hemlock
12. Honáni, Badger	Honáni-wūṇwa, Honáni-ṇyamū	Póli, Butterfly; Wisóku, Buzzard; Mûṇ-yôû, Porcupine

These clans have heretofore, as by Fewkes and A. M. Stephen, been described as phratries with numerous subdivisions, or clans, some of which correspond to what are here termed synonymous names. Many of the so-called clans of these early investigators, however, cannot be called even alternatives of the actual, primary clan designation, but are merely the names of objects employed by members of the clan as bases for some of the personal names bestowed by them. Kroeber[4] has already called attention to the patent impossibility of seventy-eight clans in a population of a little more than three hundred; and as the Hopi population was never vastly greater than it is now, it cannot be said that this long list of names represents ancient clans.

The simple fact seems to be that the use of what are here called alternative names for the clans arose from the Hopi custom of bestowing personal names referring not only to the clan totem but to associated objects as well. In the course of time some of these name-objects, those that appeared most frequently in personal names, became more or less synonymous with the true clan designation. The qualification "more or less" is made advisedly; for the Hopi themselves do not know just where to draw the line between these alternatives and those less frequently used words that are employed

[1] The Squash clan is the only one not represented at East mesa, although the Bear is practically extinct there

[2] Pátki, literally "water house."

[3] *Sisymbrium canescens.*

[4] *Zuñi Kin and Clan*, American Museum of Natural History, 1917, XVIII, II, 136.

From Copyright Photograph 1906 by E. S. Curtis

A Middle Mesa Albino

A Middle Mesa Albino.

in the invention of personal names. And of course in the very nature of the case no hard and fast line could be drawn.

It must be admitted that on the subject of clans there is a good deal of confusion and vagueness in the Hopi mind. Asked to repeat the names of the clans, some informants mention Rabbit in addition to Tobacco; Coyote, as well as Firewood; Flute in addition to Horn; and even Cottonwood, Hemlock, Roadrunner, Corn, Lizard, and other names seldom heard as clan designations. Almost invariably as the conversation proceeds the informant grows more and more uncertain and ultimately finds himself off the trail and completely at a loss to explain discrepancies which he can readily see when they are pointed out to him.

As a matter of fact, many persons, questioned as to their clan affiliation, reply "Is-wŭṇwa [Coyote]" and not "Kókop-wŭṇwa [Firewood];" or "Táp-wŭṇwa [Rabbit]" and not "Píp-wŭṇwa [Tobacco];" or "Lêna-wŭṇwa [Flute]" and not "Ál-wŭṇwa [Horn]." On the other hand it is doubtful if one would ever, except by dint of pressing and leading questions, be told that an individual is a Buzzard, a Porcupine, a Corn, or a Crane clansman. The explanation of this situation seems to lie in the statement that in recent years those who call themselves Rabbit people have been striving for recognition as a clan distinct from the Tobacco people, asserting that they were so in ancient times. This contention, that the Tobacco and Rabbit were once distinct, is in line with Kroeber's argument in the work previously cited, that "a characteristic and remarkable feature that runs right through the Pueblo clan system is the grouping of clans in pairs, or perhaps a tendency toward polarity within what is really one clan." The origin of the connection between Tobacco and Rabbit is shown in the statement of the Tobacco clan legends, that when the Awatobi Tobacco women came to Walpi after their sojourn among the Navaho, their sons married into the Rabbit clan. And in this connection it should be noted that the Tobacco clan legend definitely states that the Rabbit people were still in the south with the Cloud people at the time when the Tobacco clan lived at Awatobi; and the Horn, as well as the Snake legend, describes the Flute people as a group long entirely distinct from the Horn clan.

It has been intimated above that these names upon which personal names are based came into usage by a natural association of ideas. The reason for the association with Cloud of Corn, Fog, and Frog is obvious. Lizard is naturally linked with the Earth, so close to

which he lives: Coyote is found where Firewood is obtained; Bear frequents Hemlock forests. Cougar and Weasel are predatory, like Rattlesnake, and move swiftly and stealthily; and Cactus not only has a thorn resembling a snake's fang, but is found in the same localities as Rattlesnake. The association of Dove with this predatory group is not so readily explained; but in the light of the native elucidation of the connection between Buzzard and Badger, we may be confident that there was good reason for it. Because of the digging proclivities of Badger, men of this clan are believed to understand better than others the use of medicinal roots, and hence are frequently shamans. In exorcising disease, a bit of ashes is placed on a buzzard's feather, which is waved about the patient's head before the ashes are tossed away; hence the appearance of Buzzard as a Badger totem.

Hopi clans are strictly exogamic, and descent is matrilineal.

There are five village officials. The position of chief (*mónwi*) is always filled by the head of the Bear clan, while *kík-monwi* ("houses chief")[1] is the principal man of the Flute division of the Horn clan. *Lavaíya* ("talker") is head of the Firewood clan, *chaák-monwi* ("crier chief") of the Rattlesnake, and *kalĕtak-monwi* ("warrior chief") of the Reed.

These five compose the council. That this is not a modern institution we have proof in the narrative of Castañeda, historian of the Coronado expedition in 1540–1542, who says that the Hopi village visited by Pedro de Tovar and the Franciscan friar Juan de Padilla was "governed like Cibola [Zuñi], by an assembly of the oldest men. They have their governors and generals."[2] The Houses Chief is a deputy of the Chief, and is charged particularly with the close supervision of the affairs of the village. Any matter to come before the council is usually presented by him. The duty of the Talker is to advise the Chief. If the latter agrees to the proposal before the council, the question is regarded as settled, provided the Warrior Chief does not object; if he protests, the proposal is not carried. If the Chief himself, however, first objects to the proposed action, nothing more is to be done, except that the Talker may endeavor to persuade him. The Crier Chief makes public the decisions of the council, and gives notice of impending ceremonies as well as of other public functions.

[1] The name has almost the same meaning as Zuñi *Kyáqe-mosi* ("house director"), and the similarity in sound is suggestive. The *Kyáqe-mosi* is the principal one of the six rain priests.

[2] Winship, *op. cit.*, page 489.

DRYING POTTERY

Trans Typographical Photograph 1900 by A. Clark.

The council deals with all questions of any possible public interest, such as the problems arising from the contact of Indians with white men. It was this council that discussed the question whether the Spaniards should be permitted to enter the country, and what would be the probable effect on the Hopi. Traditions indicate that, before the arrival of white men, the Houses Chief, observing in his rounds the behavior of the people and noting that they were becoming uncontrollable, would call a meeting of the council and there propose that, inasmuch as the people were becoming so demoralized, runners should be sent to the Navaho or to the Ute and invite the enemy to raid the village, in order that the shock might bring the erring ones to their senses. Then the Talker would speak on the question, and the Chief and the Warrior Chief would decide it one way or the other.[1]

Kalĕtak-moṇwi is not only the Warrior Chief and the head of the Warrior fraternity, but also the peace officer of the village. Formerly it was his duty to intervene in any quarrel, and to bid slandering, garrulous women cease their trouble-making. If he were resisted, he could use force, beating and whipping the offender. At the present time he very rarely plays the rôle of peacemaker, and only when the other officials direct him to do so. Even in ancient times he had little occasion to perform this duty, because of the peaceable disposition of the Hopi. At intervals of a few weeks he would go about the village, usually preceded by the Crier Chief, who would exhort the people to live in harmony and happiness. Then the Warrior Chief would assemble them in the plaza or some other enclosure formed by the walls of the houses, and address them forcefully on the same subject. The most common burden of such harangues was the evil of adultery. In times long past the Warrior Chief at the solicitation of any person could punish a man or a woman accused of sorcery by beating on the back with a war-club made by inserting a wooden handle in the rawhide of a cow's tail weighted with a round stone.

As the special guardian of his fellow villagers, the Houses Chief every morning arises before sunrise and offers a prayer to the sun as it appears, asking for the good health and prosperity of all. When he scrupulously performs this duty, he is regarded as a careful and a satisfactory *kĭk-moṇwi*.

The council is supposed to have complete knowledge of the tribal

[1] See the traditions of the destruction of Awatobi and Sikyatki, and the reasons assigned for these acts, pages 188 – 190.

laws as they have come down from the ancients, and consequently when there is any dispute regarding land boundaries, land ownership, or rights to the flood water with which the Hopi irrigate their fields, the council settles the question, for they know what those rights were in the beginning.

The council confirms the choice of a fraternity's members for the position of leader of the order. After making their choice the members send word of their action to the council, who discuss the matter and confirm the selection. The confirmation however is practically perfunctory, as is the election itself; for the members never fail to elect the man whom the deceased or retiring chief has for years been training to become his successor, and the council never fails to consent to the choice. In a similar manner they confirm the selection of that Cloud clansman who has been selected by his predecessor to become the Sun Guardian. This priest is called *táwa-twi'ka* ("sun bring-along"), in allusion to the fact that it is he who watches the course of the sun and determines the date of the summer and the winter solstice, thus figuratively bringing the sun back from the north to the south, and vice versa. When a Sun Priest dies, his successor is summoned by the council, who expound his duties and fill him with advice. At the summer solstice the Sun Priest and the Cloud clansmen assemble in Mọn-kiva and make prayer-sticks for the Sun. This is the last day on which corn may be planted.

There is scant political relationship between the villages of the different mesas, but on occasions of great public calamity, such as a long drouth or an epidemic, the chiefs of the various villages sometimes meet secretly at some remote place in the lowlands and discuss the situation, its probable or possible causes, and the manner in which it is to be met. Then they pray, and separate.

The five village officers individually choose their successors, who are confirmed by the council itself, which thus is a self-perpetuating body. Each chief, looking about among his clansmen, and studying especially his nephews, selects one who seems to be most fit for the position, and as he begins to age and to feel that his time is approaching, he instructs the younger man in the duties of his office.

Sichomovi has no council and recognizes the officials of Walpi.

In case of war, offensive or defensive, the Warrior Chief had full authority, and every member of the Warrior society of fighting age was expected to join him; but others of course were not barred from participation. A hostile expedition having been organized,

POTTER BUILDING HER KILN

the Warrior Chief was expected not to turn back until he had found and defeated the enemy or met his death; and so long as he went forward, every other member of the party was bound to follow. He had authority to demand warrior service not only from his clansmen, that is, from the Warrior society, but also from the fighting men of the Tewa and of the Ása clan, because these two peoples had been given permission to build on the mesa with the understanding that they would act as guards in time of danger.

Anyone who desired to lead a war-party into the enemy's country had first to secure the consent of the Warrior Chief, who in ancient times, it is said, always accompanied the expedition. Before starting he made *naqáqŭsi*, which he offered to the two images of the war gods in his house, at the same time addressing them as one man another: "Now I am going to fight in your name. Give me strength and courage, and let me be successful. Go with me and help me." At the first camp he sang his songs in order to make his men courageous. For the Warrior Chief possessed many songs: one for a great wind, another for cold weather, another for bravery. Bad weather was desired in order that the Navaho might be surprised in their hogans, and that the wind might obliterate the Hopi trail. If in the attacked camp everybody was killed, the party remained there until the next day before moving on to another place, but if only a few were killed they departed at once in order to protect themselves from the survivors and possible reënforcements.

When any man secured a scalp, he would shout, while tearing it off his victim's skull: "In the name of —— [here naming any member of the Warrior fraternity], I scalp this Navaho!" It then became his duty to join the Warrior society, if he were not already a member. After the party had started homeward, each one who had taken a scalp chose some female relation in his father's clan, usually an unmarried girl, to meet them at the foot of the mesa, and the runners sent on to the village from the last halting place took the news of the expedition and the names of the women so chosen. When the warriors arrived at the foot of the mesa, they were met by these women, ceremonially arrayed. The Warrior Chief then drew on the ground with meal four parallel lines extending toward the village and capped with an arched line — the symbol of a cloud and falling rain, — and each woman received from her warrior relative the scalp he had secured and cast it forward upon the symbol, while the scalp-takers themselves walked slowly behind them in single file. All this was repeated a short distance up the trail, and the

procession made its way slowly up the trail and into the village to Món-kiva, into which the scalps were cast.

On the floor of the kiva the cloud symbol was made four times, and the women still threw the scalps upon it, after which they withdrew; but the men who had taken the trophies had to remain in the kiva twenty days, leaving it only for necessary physical reasons and, once each morning, under the guidance of the Warrior Chief, to make offerings of meal at the spring Tawá-pa. Each night they danced for a while, and people gathered in the plaza to dance at the same time. On every fourth day each man washed in a bowl of yucca suds the scalp he had secured, just as newborn infants are treated during their first twenty days. Similarly on the nineteenth day a feast of meat and piki was prepared, the piki being spread on the baking stone with the left hand, and on the morning of the twentieth day the men themselves had their heads washed by the warriors in whose name they had taken their scalps. The clanswomen of each scalp-taker then carried meat and *píkami* to the house of the warrior in whose honor he had secured the trophy.

Then the Warrior Chief carried the scalps to the plaza and there set up a pole, at the top of which he hung them, and the scalp-takers, each one followed by the female relative whom he had named, danced around the pole, one behind another. After a while they all retired to the kiva for a rest, and then emerged for another dance; and so it went throughout the day, until finally the Warrior Chief took down the pole and carried the trophies down the trail below the ruin Kisakobi to Sivíp-teika ("skunk-bush promontory"), where he cast them into a certain fissure.

Thereafter every night so long as he lived, each scalp-taker was expected to visit the house of the Warrior Chief, where they all would sit waiting for the people to retire; and in turn they would go singly around the village to note when all had gone to bed. Finally one would report, "All our children are in bed." Then after waiting a while for all to fall asleep, one of the men would be sent to the fissure in which scalps were deposited, there to throw meal upon them. The offering of meal was simply carrying out the idea of according to scalps the treatment given to newborn infants. This duty fell to them in turn, evening after evening. So arduous was this enforced watching every night during a man's life that in the later years of intertribal warfare no Hopi would take a scalp. It is said that when the membership of the Warrior fraternity became reduced the Warrior Chief would make a personal canvass of the

FIRING POTTERY

members of his party, trying to find one who would consent to take a scalp, if an enemy were killed, and then join the fraternity.

The ancient enemies of the Hopi were the Ute and the Navaho. About the year 1860, when the Navaho became so active, the Hopi and the Ute, and sometimes the Apache, would combine against the common enemy; but after many of the Navaho had been removed to the Bosque Redondo in New Mexico, and later to San Juan river in northern Arizona, and the country near the Hopi left comparatively unoccupied, parties of Ute would roam about the region searching for ill-defended hogans, and they would occasionally visit the Hopi villages for information concerning the location of Navaho camps. Sometimes the Hopi would learn of a proposed ceremonial assembly of the Navaho, and they would then send word to the nearest Apache or Ute, and the allies, guided by signal fires, would meet and swoop down on the enemy.

Attacks on the Hopi villages have been made by each of the two tribes mentioned above. Occasionally war-parties of Hopi encountered Ute in the Navaho country. About 1860 the Navaho even made an attack on the very top of the mesa. A Navaho slave, having escaped with a war-party of his tribesmen, returned, leading another band against his former masters. Leaving their horses at a water-hole in the valley two miles distant, they climbed the Stairway trail and lay in wait until two men passed on their way from Sichomovi to Walpi. At the little water-hole in the rock between the two villages, the Navaho fired, and shot one of the men through the body and the other through the wrist. The former fell unconscious, but the latter fled, and they pursued him and forced him over the edge of the cliff. He did not fall far, however, and came off with a sprain. About 1895 this escaped Navaho slave visited the mesa, and was invited to play the clown in a Kachina dance at Hano. As the days of tribal hostility were past, the Hopi could not take the measures they would have liked to employ, but they retaliated by playing various pranks on him. They placed him, naked, in an iron wheelbarrow that had been standing all day in the glaring sun, and wheeled him about the village. Then the young men personating Kachinas drove him about, whipping him with yucca-leaves, throwing water on him, and otherwise harrying him until the old man wept aloud. Finally they caught a huge bullsnake and wrapped it around his neck, and tried to thrust its head into his mouth.

Within comparatively recent years, since obtaining horses, the Hopi have made trading expeditions to "Paso" (El Paso), where

they dealt with the southern branch of the Isleta people; to the Kiowa in Oklahoma; to the San Carlos Apache; to the Ute and the Paiute in Utah; to "Pĕski" (Prescott), where they met other Indians assembled at that town for the purpose of trading; to the Walapai and the Havasupai at the Grand cañon; to the Mohave and the Pima, Zuñi and the Rio Grande pueblos. Woven goods, principally the robes worn by Hopi women, were the principal commodity of these traders, and deerskins one of the things most desired. Even before they had many horses the Hopi made considerable journeys on foot. They visited Prescott, and once, at the time of the great famine, many of them walked to the Rio Grande pueblo of San Juan.

The character of Hopi warfare against the Navaho is illustrated by the following narrations.

On a summer morning about the year 1870 while hoeing corn in the valley south of the mesa, we were preparing to remove the ears of green corn from the roasting pits and eat our midday meal, when, discovering that a party of Navaho were surrounding us, most of us hid among the bushes, but three ran toward the mesa. Two were overtaken and killed, but I [Nûvá-oyi] outran the enemy, and when men from the village came hurrying out to meet me, the Navaho withdrew.

At once the Hano men planned a raid into the Navaho country. They were joined by many of the Hopi, and going by way of Shipaulovi to Oraibi they stopped at the place now occupied by the new village Hotavila, northward of which were some hogans. But finding that the Navaho had gone, they returned home. On the way a Walpi man, Silĕwtiwa, uncle of one of the two that had been killed in the cornfield, said, "I will lead another expedition."

They arrived home the next day, and in the evening he went to the Warrior Chief's house where the members of the Warrior society were as usual assembled to talk and smoke. The Chief gave him a pipe, and the others did the same, one after another. Then Silĕwtiwa said, "My fathers!" And the Chief answered: "My son! What do you wish?"

"Yes! I have come for permission to lead a war-party."

"*Háo!*" said the Warrior Chief. "We do not want to lose our children."

"Yes, but I want to go."

The Chief was silent. Then again Silĕwtiwa said: "I want to go, because the Navaho have killed my nephew. This is why I am angry in my heart."

And the Chief answered, "You must take good care of the men who go with you, and bring them back, safe and unhurt."

"*Anchaaí* ['all right']*!* I will do so." And having thus obtained

An Ancient Pottery Kiln

permission to lead a war-party, Silĕwtiwa informed the Warrior Chief that he would start in four days.

When he returned to his house he performed *nátuwanpi* ["experiment"], a magic practice borrowed from the Navaho, who call it *nadîhlni*. A woman was placed in the middle of the room, sitting with one arm outstretched. He sprinkled fine ashes on her arm, and a line of it down her breast and along her legs and the other arm. Then a Navaho song was chanted for the purpose of placing some magic power in the woman. Her head drooped. The second song commanded her spirit to start out, the third to go, the fourth to speak. At the end of the fourth song the woman's arm and head began to tremble, and she made signs, the import of which was that some Apache coming into the Hopi country to trade had been attacked by Navaho at Como springs and had been driven back, and that the Navaho had then gone northward from that place.

The next morning it was announced that on the fourth day following Silĕwtiwa and Hóyo, uncles of the two slain men, and Ísŏŭ, a warrior, would lead a party against the Navaho, and when the time came about forty men departed, each one having made pahos for Másŏŭ and the war gods, and having planted them at the appropriate shrines. We wore moccasins, knee-length leggings, shirts, and blankets, and each carried a small quantity of food and a deerskin pouch of sacred cornmeal, which was used in praying to the stars, to the spirits at various springs on the march, and every morning to the rising sun, that we might have success and a safe return. Food and tobacco were used sparingly. In preparation for fighting we wrapped the shirt and blanket about the waist, so as to leave the arms unencumbered.

On the first day after marching about twenty miles we camped, and sitting in a circle we smoked while the warrior encouraged us. The second day's march was about thirty miles, and again we smoked and were encouraged by the warrior. During the night two scouts brought in a horse, and said they had found sheep tracks, and about daylight we heard a lamb bleating. We knew a Navaho camp was close, and we said to one another that the sheep were ours.

Our attacks were always made at sunrise, because the Navaho watched their flocks all night, and then fell into a sound sleep from weariness. One division of the party went around to the south, the other to the north, in order to surround the enemy, and just as the sun rose we rushed in with shouts. Small groups of about ten men surrounded each of the several hogans and shot down the Navaho when they ran out. Three young men and an old man who was wounded got into a hogan, the sides of which were very strong, and we could do nothing with them. So we left them and drove away the sheep and several horses, having killed a few people, I do not know how many. No scalps were taken, because, when a scalp was taken, it was necessary to initiate the scalper into the Warrior fraternity, and at that time initiation into the society had ceased.

Our last halt on the way home was on a mesa about six miles from the village. After we had eaten at noon, we saw five Navaho on horses, each with a companion behind him, and a fight occurred, in which one of them was wounded. We were too many for them and they withdrew, but as they were mounted we could not follow them.

About three miles from Walpi we sent a runner into the village to ask permission to enter, and one of the Warrior fraternity said to him, "Yes, if you have taken no scalps, you may come in." When a war-party returned with a scalp it was necessary for them to wait outside the village before entering. So we went in. Five sheep were apportioned to each house in the three villages, and the remainder were rushed upon and slaughtered, and the meat was taken by those who could get it. The horses were killed, and the flesh distributed equally. Captured horses were never kept alive, because there was no way of dividing them equitably.

On the next three days there was dancing for a short time about the middle of the afternoon by the members of the war-party, each of whom was followed in the dance by a woman of his father's clan. We wore only loin-cloths and ceremonial kilts, and were daubed with perpendicular stripes of white, like the members of the Warrior fraternity, and each carried bow and arrows, while the women wore tabletas [symbolically painted boards worn upright on the head] as in the Butterfly dance, and white, ceremonial blankets, and had an arrow in each hand. We danced forward in a circle, singing to the time of a large drum.

On the fourth day the dance occurred at sunrise. Each warrior took a pinch of ashes, moved the hand in a circle before his face, and cast the ashes over the cliff toward the east, the country of the Navaho. Then the Warrior chief took a reed arrow and stuffed into the hollow of it bits from the clothing and the accoutrement of a Navaho, and shot it toward the east, thus ending the victory dance. Both of these acts symbolized the wish that the Navaho might be destroyed.

Six days later two of the men who had been left unharmed in the Navaho camp came to make peace, and the Hopi assembled to determine whether the two should be killed or merely driven away. It was decided to kill them. So the two were caught, tied up, and shot, and the bodies, filled with arrows, were rolled over the cliff. Several male Navaho slaves took fright at this and ran away, but they were pursued, caught, and killed.

In another council it was determined that it would be well to send another expedition against the enemy, in order to kill any more of this group from whom the messengers had come, lest they avenge the death of the two. The same three leaders organized this party, which late in the afternoon of the very day on which the messengers had been killed set out unobtrusively in twos and in threes for the entrance of Keams cañon [Pón-sikya, round cañon], to which the trail led. At dark a start was made from Keams cañon. There

Pé-ké – Tewa

were about sixty of us. At midnight we were in Steamboat cañon [Wŭpa-sikya, long cañon]; and at daybreak, about three miles west of Wŭko-vaka-vi ["big reed place"], where Ganado is now, we smelled fire.[1] Scouts were sent out, and they soon returned with the news that some Navaho were encamped about one mile west of Wŭko-vaka-vi. We attacked the four hogans and killed all the people, about eight in each hogan, except a little boy, whom we kept for a guide. I myself killed three. The boy conducted us to a camp of two hogans, and we killed the nine occupants. Then he led us to a third place, and after killing two men, three boys, and two women, we captured a number of horses and cattle and drove them homeward. But at night while we camped in the mountains east of the valley, the Navaho drove off our stock, and though we followed them in the morning we could not overtake them, mounted as they were. There was no dancing after the return of this expedition.

In the autumn of the same year ten Mexicans one day pitched camp near the mesa and inquired if we knew where any Navaho could be found. They said they were going into the country north of San Francisco mountains for slaves, horses, and trinkets, and without delay the same three leaders raised a party of thirty men and joined the Mexicans. Our first halt was near Bill Williams mountain, where the scouts found two hogans near the foot of the mountain. We killed two men, a woman, and three children, and spared an old woman until she had given us information about other camps. Some were in favor of letting her live, but in the course of the argument some one struck her on the head with a club and killed her. We found another camp and killed the few who were there. One man hid in a treetop, and when the combat was over he shot a Hopi in the back with an arrow. We then killed him, and he tumbled down out of the tree. By this time the other Navaho in the neighborhood had been warned by signal fires, and we could not surprise any others in their hogans.

A party of Hopi returning from Fort Defiance were attacked by Navaho at Wŭko-vaka-vi, near the present Ganado, and five were killed. Háni, one of those that escaped, bears the scars of many wounds received there.

Some time after this Nûvâ-ti (the narrator), at work in his cornfield, decided to lead a war-party against the Navaho. Returning to the village, he was told that his wife had gone to Kanĕl-va spring, so he followed her, and found her at the spring with the peach gatherers. Here he announced his intention, reminding the men, "If we do not retaliate on these Navaho, they will become so bold that they will not be content with raiding our cornfields and camps, but will attack our village." Some at once agreed to accompany him, and he

[1] In an air-line the party had travelled, from dark to daybreak, about forty miles.

sent a runner back to Walpi with the message that a war-party would start out that very day.[1] When Nûvá-ti returned to Walpi he found some already prepared, and the others soon got their bows and arrows ready, and with a small amount of food they all started toward a thin column of smoke, a signal which they sighted to the south of Keams cañon. At the fire they found Wíki, chief of the Antelope fraternity, whose uncle, his predecessor, had been killed by the Navaho in the recent encounter. It was his intention to accompany this party and exact revenge, and he was taking the Antelope *típoni*[2] in order to bury it with the body of his uncle. Too angry and restless to wait for the others, he had started as soon as the announcement was made.

When the leader and his men arrived, he refused to let Wíki go on with the *típoni*, because if it were buried with the body of the slain chief the Antelope ceremony could not be performed again. Wíki therefore drew out of the *típoni* two eagle wing-feathers and gave them to Nûvá-ti, and he himself turned back. The other ten went on at a dog-trot.

When they were south of the place where Keams Cañon school now stands they saw far away in the east a great many buzzards soaring in the air, and they judged that this meant they were too late to bury the bodies of their friends. They went on past the ruin Ákuka, which the Acoma people are said to have built in their migrations, and at sunset were at Wûko-kaha-vi ("big willow place").[3] Still they did not stop, but went on up Steamboat cañon, running as always, and about midnight they were on the ridge of hills west of the present Ganado. Here they waited for daylight, having travelled from Walpi to Ganado, nearly fifty miles as the crow flies, without a camp.

During the remainder of the night they took turns at watching. It was not long before day broke, and leaving a sentinel on the hill with instructions to walk westward if he saw an enemy to the east of the Hopi party, and *vice versa*, the others started down the slope. Soon they came upon the scattered remains of their friends, and saw the spot where they had camped, with the cobs of roasted corn and bits of pumpkin rind. There were five bodies. Beside the corpse of Masálĕ, the former Antelope chief, they placed the two feathers

[1] It will be observed that Nûvá-ti did not first interview the Warrior Chief to obtain his permission.

[2] See page 122, footnote.

[3] Now called Pete's spring, from a Navaho whom Keam, the trader, named Pete.

TSÉYBANÖ - TEWA

from the Antelope *típoni;* on it they laid some piki, and then covered it with brush. After sprinkling crumbled piki on the other bodies and piling brush over them, they returned to their sentinel in the hills, and all proceeded northward. At Chinlee, the mouth of Cañon de Chelly, they discovered several mounted Navaho, who easily eluded them. Scouring the country west of Chinlee for Navaho, they found an old man, so helpless that they would not harm him.[1] Then they came upon a camp where an old man, pounding green roasted piñon cones, said that all the Navaho in that vicinity had gone southward, to attend a "sing." Numbering but ten, the Hopi were afraid to attack so large a camp as there would be at such a ceremony.

Later they saw a Navaho horseman in a valley, and one went alone as if to parley with him. As they talked, he seized the Navaho, and the others dashed out of their concealment. Still on his horse, the man struggled mightily with them. He snatched an arrow from a Hopi and thrust it into the back of one of his enemies, and at the same moment another Hopi let fly an arrow, which accidentally struck the same man in the head. Then while one on each side held the Navaho's arms, another shot two arrows through him. He spat at them, and the spittle was bloody. They threw him from his horse, still fighting, and killed him with his own spear, a staff with a piece of metal bound to the end, and two remained to loot their victim of his arrows and his silver belt, his coral beads, and a little pouch, the others fleeing in a sudden panic lest there be other Navaho lurking in the neighborhood. This was the only man killed by the expedition.

On the way home, encamping at the spring Pôpsû, they opened the little bag taken from the Navaho and found a quantity of turquois. It was at the meal eaten in this camp that Nûvá-ti, mixing water with a double handful of piki and eating out of his hands, noticed an unusual taste, and saw that he was eating out of bloody hands, a circumstance to which he attributes his present baldness. He thinks that as he is only seventy years of age his hair should not fall out.

[1] Considering the savage treatment of helpless Navaho described in the preceding narrative, one must conclude that the condition of this old man was sad indeed!

CLAN LEGENDS

MIGRATIONS OF THE RATTLESNAKE CLAN

When all the race of human beings emerged from the lower world at Sípapuni,[1] the tribes scattered, each going in the direction it chose. The Cougars and Doves proceeded northward along the east side of the cañon, and on a high mesa at Tokonabi [2] they built a village of stone houses, and called it Tokóna.

One day the son of the Cougar chief stood looking down at the rushing river, and he began to wonder whither all this water went. With such a volume constantly flowing into it, a place should soon become full, and overflow. He decided to find that place and ascertain why it did not overflow. When he mentioned the plan to his father, the chief said, "My son, you cannot go."

"Yes, but I must find whither this water goes."

"When, then, will you start?"

"I shall start in four days," said the youth. "Now I am going to devise something in which to travel. I want my sisters to prepare food for my journey, and you must make pahos."

Then the youth descended to the stream and found a large cottonwood log, which he hollowed out with fire and provided with a round door for each end. His father summoned the head men and they prepared pahos, and on the fourth day the chief's son placed in the hollow log his food and his pahos, a gourd full of water, and a short, pointed stick which his father had given him with the advice that if the log became stranded he should prod its side in order to cause it to start on. While his sisters and the people wept, he entered the log, and from the inside he sealed the doors with piñon-gum. The men rolled it into the stream, and it drifted away and soon disappeared.

For many days the log was carried onward, but at last it stopped and failed to move when he prodded the side with his stick. Cautiously, little by little, he opened the door, and no water entered. He removed the door altogether, and found himself on the edge of a great expanse of water, where the waves had cast him up. Then he crept out, and said to himself: "I wonder where I shall go? It is my own fault that I am here alone. But I will do the best I can." He beheld a ladder projecting from the middle of the ocean, and he

[1] Located by the informant in the Grand cañon above El Tovar hotel.

[2] Somewhere above Lee's ferry.

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PULÍNI AND KÓYÁNE - WALPI

said to himself, "I wonder if that is the place to which I am going?" He opened his bundle of pahos, selected the one that had been made for the person who lived in the ocean, and fastened it to his belt. He made a ball of meal and cast it toward the ladder. It rolled away over the water, straight to the ladder, down which it disappeared. Behind it the waters divided, and on this path the youth proceeded to the ladder, dry of foot. A voice invited him to descend, and in a moment he found himself in a kiva, in the presence of an old woman who merely remarked, "Have you come?"

"Yes," he answered.

"You arrived a long time ago," she said, "but you did not know it. I am Hûzûiṇ-wûhti ['shells woman']."

The youth gave her the paho, saying: "This is for you. My father made it for you."

"Thank you!" she said. "Nobody has made for me anything like this for a long time, and I am very glad to have it."

Soon the ladder began to shake, and a handsome man came down with many pahos and much cornmeal, all of which he gave to the woman, who sorted out the pahos, muttering to herself, "This is for good crops, and this is for rain, this for children, this for game." Some she angrily threw aside, because they had been planted for evil [that is, for sorcery].

Now the Sun spoke to the youth: "For a long time it has been your desire to come, and now you are here. You must look closely, and heed what I say. Your father has made these pahos for Nánanivo-moṇwitûyŭ ['world-regions chiefs']. It will be that there will be plentiful crops, and all will be well with your people. It is a long time you have been travelling, and the people are growing anxious. You must go home. I will take the rest of these pahos to those for whom your father made them, to those who live underground. You have seen what I brought. I have brought pahos for both good and evil, and you have seen the scalps I brought. There has been a fight this day, and I am always the first one in any battle: I get the first scalp, and after that the warriors may take scalps. People who ask for good, for long life, for good crops, and everything that is good, shall always ask in the morning, and people who ask for the bad shall always ask at any time of the day, at noon or at evening. These bad things I have sometimes granted."

Then the Sun descended through the floor of the kiva, and on the following morning Hûzûiṇ-wûhti told the youth that he would find his home by directing his course to a certain mountain in the

north. So he returned to the shore over a path made by casting another ball of meal, and started northward, following the river.

Now when he arrived at the foot of the mountain in the north, he came upon many rattlesnakes lying everywhere. He stopped and inquired if they would harm him, and when they assured him they would not, he went on, picking his way among them. More and more numerous they became, and on the top of the mountain he was compelled to tread on many of them. At the very peak of the mountain he found a ladder, and descending it he beheld many people, relatives of the reptiles he had seen on the mountain. The chief said: "You are a man! You have entered our home. You are the only one who has ever done so."

"I do not know," he said. "I do not think I am a man. But you are men."

They gave him a smoke, and, having finished, he told them that Hûzûiṇ-wûhti had sent him to ask their aid in getting home. But they said: "We are not the ones to grant this. We are only the guards. We guard our chief, who is below." So they allowed him to pass down another ladder, and there was Ísanavaiya, the Rattlesnake chief, sitting alone. He looked up and demanded: "How is it that you have come? How is it that my guards have admitted you? You must be a man!"

"No, I do not think I am a man. I have come a great distance, and I will have a hard time returning home. I do not know how to find food, and I come to you for help."

Then the chief taught him the Snake ceremony and the songs, and sent him up the ladder. In the upper room he found a girl prepared for the journey, and the two started northward, the Rattlesnake girl carrying food in a bundle on the top of her head. She never ate with the young man, and whenever his food gave out, she would remove her belt and shake her body, and food would fall down from it. For the Rattlesnake people had food under each overlapping scale of their bodies.

After years of travelling they reached Tokonabi, and in due time the girl gave birth to many little rattlesnakes, and, though they were reptiles, the people were fond of them. But when the rattlesnakes bit some of the children [1] the people became angry and departed southward, leaving the rattlesnakes behind.[2] At every camp, as

[1] Cf. a similar incident in Volume II.

[2] The assumed historical basis of these mythic events is, of course, the acquisition by the Cougar youth of a Rattlesnake wife, probably, as Fewkes has suggested, a nomadic Shoshonean

A Load of Wood

they journeyed, they erected the Snake altar and sang for rain, and the rain always came. After a long time they arrived at the village Wűko-ki ["great house"], where the Lamáti dance was in progress, and here they met other wanderers, the Squash people and the Flute people, and the two bands united.

From Wűko-ki a runner Tsámaheya went eastward in search of people, who, it was rumored, had emerged from the earth in that quarter. He reached the mountains in the east, and, going to the top to look for signs of people, he found two little boys playing shinny. These were the war gods Pökán-hoya [" ———— little"] and Palónao-hoya ["echo little"]. In reply to their questions he said: "I am searching for people. But I am exhausted. Can you help me?" Although they assured him they were no better travellers than he, going always on foot and driving their shinny-balls before them, they said they would ask their brother, meaning Arrow, the Arrow feathered with feathers from the wings of a bluebird. They shot an arrow southward, and it travelled far onward to an inhabited place, and there thrust itself into the ground.

"Somebody has come!" shouted the people, and they gathered around. "I am searching for people," explained Arrow. "Our elder brother has been going about, but he has become exhausted and I am travelling for him."

The people said: "We have just come out from the underworld, and we are waiting for instructions from our chief." They sat in a circle about their chief, who was a Kachina. Then the chief uttered the cry of a Kachina and motioned with his head toward the northwest, and the people said, "By the gesture of our chief, we are going toward the place from which your elder brother has come." Then the Arrow took the message to Tsámaheya, who at once started homeward; but at Akúka-vi-tűqi ["Acoma place mountain" — Mesa Encantada] he stopped, and lived with the people there.

When the people at Wűko-ki, after waiting long realized that Tsámaheya would not return, they sent Antelope to find him. By following his trail Antelope discovered him at Akúka-vi-tűqi; but Tsámaheya declared that he would remain there, and said that when the people were holding the Snake ceremony they should beat on

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woman. Her offspring composed the Rattlesnake clan. The traditionist, disregarding these historical facts, if such they are, abandons himself to the mythical, and represents her offspring as mere reptiles from which the people fled. As a matter of fact the Rattlesnakes accompanied the others from Tokonabi.

the floor and he, hearing the sound, would come to help them bring rain.[1]

In company with the Flute and the Squash people, the clans from Tokonabi departed from Wŭko-ki, and near Oraibi wash they divided, the Squash clan founding Mûnyá-ovi, near the present Oraibi, and Chukubi. The Flute clan went eastward and settled at Lengyaobi [about thirty miles northeast of Walpi], while the clans from Tokonabi continued their march eastward. Midway between East and Middle mesas they established a village.

One day footprints were discovered in the sand, and the chief, searching among the rocks that were piled up on that part of the mesa now occupied by the central houses of Walpi, found there a man, a tall, handsome man living alone. This was Másôŭ. He said he had long been wishing that people might come, and promised to visit their village on the following day. The next morning the people saw Másôŭ start from the foot of the mesa on the west side, masked, carrying a short club filled with all kinds of seeds. When he neared the village, he ran toward the people and threw his club over their heads, in order to frighten them, but they stood fast, unafraid; and the chief ran to him and embraced him. Then Másôŭ told of a vow he had made, that if they proved to be people of courage, they should have his land.[2] "This will be the first and the last meeting between us," he said. "From this time on I shall be invisible. I go below, but I shall always live here." Then he left them and from that time he was invisible, except that very rarely he has been seen dimly at night.

Not long after this the people moved toward the mesa and built the village Kuchaptuvela on the northern side of the terrace below the present Walpi. Later they built Kisakobi on a slightly higher level, and after the destruction of the Spanish priests [in 1680] they founded Walpi on the very top of the mesa.

MIGRATIONS OF THE HORN CLAN

The Horn people were living in the north, and wishing to find a better country they moved southward across Colorado river,[3]

[1] The asperger in the Snake ceremony bears the official title Tsámaheva. At one point in the rites the mythical Tsámaheva is called upon in the Keres language, the tongue spoken by the Acoma people. See page 143.

[2] The Rattlesnake clan holds a strip of land extending from the mesa to the wash between East and Middle mesas.

[3] At the point, says the narrator, indicated on maps as "Crossing of the Fathers," near the intersection of the Arizona-Utah boundary.

SHORCOPAVI

and arrived at Tokonabi, where people already were living. After a time all the clans moved southward and settled at Wŭko-ki; later the Horn clan separated from the others and founded the village Mŭnkap-ki ["small-stream house"].[1] But as the region was too restricted in its cultivable area, they started up the cañon seeking a new country, and for a time lived at a place on Oraibi wash, now marked by an unnamed ruin. But the place was even less adapted to raising large crops, being surrounded by piñon-covered hills, and they removed to Lengyaobi [about thirty miles northeast of the present Walpi], there joining the Flute people. They remained in that place for some years, but the country was hilly, without valley land, so they travelled on one day's journey to Qásta-pa, a spring about two miles north of Wípho spring. All along this journey they had been sending out the Deer, their runner, to scout for a good home. From Qásta-pa the Deer travelled southward and ran all around the mesa on which Walpi now stands, and returning to the people he reported that the land was good. So they moved toward the mesa, and while they paused near the spring on the west side, their chief climbed up to ask the Bear chief, who was also the village chief, for permission to enter his village. The request was granted, and about the time of the morning meal the Horn people came along the trail toward the Gap.

On the small level space at the head of the trail they found the Bear chief and the Rattlesnake chief awaiting them behind a line of meal across the trail, which signified that they were not to enter. Then the Bear chief asked, "If you enter my village, what good will you do for us?"

"We will make rain for your crops," said the Horn chief.

Four times the Bear chief repeated his question, in order to make sure that the Horn chief was not deceiving him, and then he gave his permission for the newcomers to enter. The Horn-Flute people brought with them the Flute ceremony.

MIGRATIONS OF THE CLOUD CLAN

All the people were living in the underworld, but as there was scarcely room for all it was decided to come up to this world. Mŏfsini [a bird resembling the mockingbird] was sent up to seek light, and when he returned with the news that he had seen light and a roomy place, the people began to plant trees of different kinds, hemlock,

[1] The small stream referred to is a wash at the foot of the knoll on which the ruin stands, near Moenkapi.

oak, spruce, trying to produce one that would extend its branches into the upper world. But all failed. Then they planted a reed, which at last broke through the earth into the light.

Down at the base of the reed the Qán-wimi fraternity sang their songs, and during the singing the people were allowed to enter the reed and climb upward; but when it ceased, no more were permitted to leave. So thus the people began to climb upward inside the reed, stopping to camp at the successive nodes, and bringing with them the seeds of corn, beans, watermelons, and squashes. The place of emergence was far away in the south, and there they remained one season.

Yŏpa ["mockingbird"] gave different languages to the people, and then in various parties they began to move away in various directions. Four divisions came northward in company: the Cloud, Lizard, Rabbit, and Sun [1] people. At frequent intervals the Lizard people would spread sand, and the Cloud men would sing over the seeds planted in it, and thus in one day crops were matured. After each harvest a stalk of corn held upright with its roots on the ground was permitted to fall, and the march was resumed in the direction thus indicated.

For many years they travelled before arriving at Palatkwabi ["red ———— place"], where they built permanent homes.[2] Here was good farming land, and the people lived well. But among the mountains in the east was a huge bird, which preyed upon them; and so many were carried off, especially of the young men and the girls, that at last the people secured the aid of the war gods, who destroyed the monster.

During the following four years the people lived peacefully. Then they became evil. Whenever they hunted rabbits they would quarrel about the game, and would cut rabbits in two — a bad omen. Also the young regarded not the aged, nor respected woman's virtue. When the Houses Chief could bear it no longer, he made a plan.

One night a moving light, far away, was seen to start toward the village. When it reached the plaza, it ran about the streets, and at various places where it stopped there was the sound of grinding stones and singing. After a while it rapidly retreated. On the following day a plan was made to catch the sorcerer, for the elders

[1] At Oraibi the Sun is said to be still a distinct clan, but at the other Hopi villages it has become incorporated with the Reed clan.

[2] The narrator, Saqístiwa, identifies this traditional village with a ruin in Gila valley about west of San Carlos and south of Pinal peak, which mountain the Hopi call Qán-tûqi ("mescal mountain").

THE PLAZA AT WALPI

said that such a light portended bad luck; and after dark the men stationed themselves along the trail. But when the light came, their courage failed. A certain man however remained alone to watch, and when he had caught the sorcerer and the others had come running in answer to his cries for help, it was found that the light was caused by the fiery breath of the sorcerer. They removed the mask, which was like the rabbit-skin mask of Másôû, and the three Kachina masks that were beneath it, and there stood the son of their Houses Chief. At first he denied that there was evil in his work, but at last he explained that he was doing it to punish them for their base life. He told them to bury him alive in the centre of the village with the tips of the four fingers of one hand projecting above the ground, and on each succeeding day to bend down one finger.

All this was in accordance with the plan of the Houses Chief, and all was carried out. But nothing happened until, on the fourth day when all were sleeping, the whole place was violently shaken, and water began to appear in the fireplaces and in the corners of the houses. It bubbled out all around the houses. For the man who had been buried alive had become Pá-lölökaṇû ["water bull-snake"], and when the Water Bullsnake moved in coming out of the ground, the earth was shaken. Now the people leaped up, gathered what few possessions they could lay their hands on, and fled. The very old people they laid on the shelves, thinking the water would not rise so high.

Soon the village was surrounded by water. In the morning a little boy and his young sister, accidentally left behind, awoke and looked out on the water. The boy secured some roasted corn, and thus provided the two started from the house. As they passed through the plaza, they saw the great Water Bullsnake floating on the water, and he spoke to them, "Wait, come to me."

"We cannot come near to you," they said, "for there is water all around."

"Have no fear, but come along. The water will recede before you."

And so it was: when they started toward the Water Bullsnake, the water receded, and they walked on the ground. They stood beside him, and he spoke again, "Follow the trail of your people."

"We cannot find it," said the boy.

"You can find it by noting the direction in which the grass they stepped on is inclined. Cut off a piece of my flesh." The Water Bullsnake directed the boy while he cut a piece of flesh from its side, and then said, "Use this with singing, and it will bring you rain."

Then the two children started on, following the trail of the people, and even as the Water Bullsnake had told them that the people would not have travelled very far, so it proved, for they overtook them at the first camp. On the first day after the establishment of this camp, two men had been sent back to note the condition at the village, and these men had found some houses already falling, and the abandoned elders were turkeys and buzzards roosting there on the shelves.

After the arrival of the children the people resumed their journey northward, frequently stopping to plant corn, which matured in a day under the influence of their singing. As in their migration to Palatkwabi, so now they determined the direction of their march by the falling of a cornstalk. Sometimes they stopped for only a day or two, sometimes for a few years. At last they built Homolobi [on the north bank of the Little Colorado a few miles east of the present Winslow]. In those days the valley was somewhat swampy, and there were many mosquitoes, and after some years so many children died from the bites of the insects that the people abandoned the village and proceeded northward. About a mile from Homolobi a pregnant woman, exhausted, was left behind, and she became the spirit Tíhkûyi, mother of all game animals. A walled-up shrine of this deity is still there, but is now fallen into disuse. At a small knoll in the valley, four miles south of East mesa, they built the village Pá-koi-fsomo.

After some years they started toward the mesa, and at the spring Anápöl-va near the foot of the cliff, the Firewood clan from the mesa met them and asked what they had for the general good. Though the newcomers replied that they could produce rain in summer and snow in winter, they did not receive permission to enter the village, and resumed their journey. Near Tawá-pa spring, not far from the mesa, they halted and sang their songs, and therefore in the ceremony of the Lakón-wimi the women now run from this place to the village.

From Tawá-pa the Cloud clan proceeded on up the valley, but before they had gone far a messenger from the Firewood people overtook them; and in reply to the repeated question, what they had for the common good, they set up their altar and performed their rain-making rites with the piece of the Water Bullsnake's flesh.[1]

[1] Fewkes has pointed out that the cult of the Water Bullsnake corroborates the testimony of the tradition, that these people came from the south. He identifies it with the snake cult of Mexico. The fact that these clans brought the winter solstice ceremony is also good evidence that they came from the south, the land of sun worship in this form. The Sun Priest is always of the Cloud clan.

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An Afternoon Chat

Then fell such a rain as had never been known in the valley, and lightning flashed in the sky. And the Cloud clan was invited to join the people of Walpi, which had already been established on the top of the mesa.

Besides the rites of the Lakón-wimi, the purpose of which is to produce rain, the Cloud people brought the winter solstice ceremony. Among those who arrived at Walpi in this group was Kófŝa, the man who possessed the secret of maturing corn in a single day. He used to practise his magic on the bank of the wash east of the village, but with his death the secret was lost. The Cloud clan was the last to be incorporated among the people of Walpi, and it arrived after the destruction of Awatobi.[1]

MIGRATIONS OF THE TOBACCO CLAN

A great flood in the underworld made it impossible for the people to remain there, and it was decided to plant a hemlock and a spruce tree, which, growing upward, would break through the earth into the upper world. But instead of breaking through the crust, the tips of the trees bent downward, and the people then planted a large reed, the sharp point of which broke through. Then the people gathered around the base of the reed and climbed through its hollow stem; but at the top the passage was too small, and they sent back a messenger to Badger, who soon forced his way through to the surface and then dug away the earth from the tip of the reed, so that it spread laterally into a roomy passage. In the new world was light, but, as below, water was everywhere; so they implored Pökáṇ-hoya and Palóṇao-hoya, two little boys who had accompanied them from below, to devise means of draining the earth. The brothers directed them to feather some small arrows with the feathers of a bluebird [*fsózo*] and a robin [*mûzíṇyawû*], and shooting these tiny missiles into the great rocks that confined the water, they formed the Grand cañon [Písis] through which the water soon drained off, leaving the earth soft and muddy. Then the brothers ground up many kinds of shells and hard pebbles, and spread the powder over the land, and the ground became hard and dry.

[1] This opinion of the narrator is upheld by the fact that the Qán-wimi, a fraternity of the Cloud clan, stands apart by itself in many respects in the New Fire ceremony, as if it was a later accretion. The other three participating fraternities came from Awatobi, after the destruction of that village. That these three were the originators of the ceremony there is no question. This is indicated by the traditions of the Reed clan and by the fact that the ceremony is named from one of the three, while another plays the most important part in the rites.

Five clans departed together: Tobacco, Firewood, Tûvis,[1] Reed, and Badger.[2] They passed to the south of San Francisco mountains, and at last built a village at Hoṇû-vi ["juniper-shoots place"] among Hopi buttes.

After many years they moved onward and built Awatobi, where good crops were raised and food was abundant. They began to think of instituting ceremonies, and the three fraternities Tô-wimi, Wûwûßim-wimi, and Ál-wimi were formed. Tapólo, Hóinniwa, and Sákuyeva were the respective chiefs. Among the women they organized two societies, Owákûl-wimi and Mazŏ-wimi.

At Palatkwabi [in Gila valley] were the Cloud, Rabbit, and Sun clans; at Tokonabi [on Colorado river] were the Rattlesnake and Horn clans; and at Wûko-ki were the Squash and Flute clans. At East mesa the only person was Másôû. Tapólo, chief of those at Awatobi, wished to move to East mesa, but Sákuyeva, chief of the Ál-wimi fraternity, objected, because their own farming land in Jeditoh valley was good.

The daughter of Sákuyeva was a pretty girl, and all the young men desired her; but she refused all. In San Francisco mountains lived Álosaka, who, meeting her at a spring one day, received a drink from her. And as they talked, they fell in love, and she promised to come to him in four days. So she did, and a little later she brought her husband home.

Frequently now the people saw lights southward of San Francisco mountains. Each night they were closer, and the chiefs began to grow uneasy; but Álosaka promised to help them on condition that all remain in their houses. The next day clouds covered the mountains, and there was a great cloudburst accompanied by a fall of hailstones as large as shinny-balls. When the flames in the south crept up to Hûkyát-vi [a small butte in the valley near East mesa], Álosaka ran forth from the village and met the wall of fire. He ran his horn into the ground in the path of the flames and tore up the earth in a narrow furrow. There the fire stopped: it could not cross the furrow, and from this line to Awatobi the land was never burned, although all the rest of the country was seared by fire.[3]

Not long after this event a man seduced the wife of Álosaka,

[1] *Tûvisala*, to censure. This clan is not mentioned in other traditions.

[2] The statement does not agree with the legends of some other clans.

[3] This incident is perhaps inserted into the traditions to account for evidences of volcanic fires in the region; or it may be one of those touches, not infrequent in Indian traditions, which one is tempted to regard as dim recollections of actual events in the extremely early life of the people. The description of the slowly advancing fire might well apply to a flow of lava.

and he departed with their child, a boy of five years, after declaring that, although they had enjoyed abundant crops by his favor, thenceforth they would have to do without his aid. From that time their fields never produced more than enough for mere existence. It was at this time that people were beginning to settle at East mesa, and in response to a message from Tapólo some of them visited him. He had prepared certain sticks, one of which he gave to the Firewood clan as a token that the country in Keams cañon should be theirs for hunting eagles. To the Horn clan he assigned the valley north of Keams cañon; to the Bear clan the valley lying east and north of East mesa; to the Earth clan the country north of the Bear eagle preserve; and to the Corn and the Reed clans the Hopi buttes. His own eagle grounds were to be the country immediately about Awatobi. Then when the people began to use many eagle-feathers for pahos, crops became better and rabbits increased.

There was a kiva of sorcerers [1] at the east end of Awatobi, and at the west end was the kiva in which Tapólo was chief. In a race between the young men of the two kivas, from the west side of Awatobi down the valley to the midst of Hopi buttes and then up Jeditoh valley and back to Awatobi, the sorcerers were the winners; and Tapólo criticized his young men. But one of them, Patóska, angrily bade the chief cease his faultfinding. The old man was smoking. He said simply, "All right!" and continued to puff slowly. He finished his smoke, picked up his tobacco-bag, and left the kiva, and from that time he never reëntered it.

One day the men of the chief's kiva performed a Kachina dance, and members of the sorcerers' kiva played the clown. One of the Kachina clowns was pretending to be a sorcerer, and the other clowns pursued him among the spectators, who included visitors from the other three Hopi mesas. At last they caught him, and one of them grasped his hands, swung him about with his feet off the ground, and suddenly released his hands, and the clown fell violently to the ground. His Kachina mask fell off, and the clowns quickly threw a blanket over him to prevent his face from being seen by the people. When the mask falls from a Kachina dancer in a public place, the others make a mock attack on the clowns; so Sísivû, the Kachina

[1] As Fewkes has suggested (*Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, II, 605), this probably refers to the liberal faction, which welcomed the Spanish priests after the reconquest in 1692. The other Hopi towns — Walpi, Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi, and Oraibi — were united in hostility to the foreigners, and the conservative element at Awatobi, led by the chief Tapólo, appealed to them to punish the "sorcerers," as they called the devotees of the strange religion.

chief, summoned all his young men to the kiva, where they hurriedly dressed, gathering up all the masks they could find. Meantime the clowns too were preparing for the fray, wrapping deerskins about their bodies for protection, and arming themselves with bows and arrows and clubs. About the middle of the afternoon the Kachinas climbed out of their kiva and rushed upon the clowns. In such instances the Kachinas whip the clowns, and if the latter defend themselves it is taken as a sign that they desire more whipping. Some one lost his temper, and the mock combat became a real battle, in which some were nearly killed. The visitors in fright ran away from the village, and the dance broke up in a row.

Not long after this there was a quarrel among the rabbit-hunters, who, disputing the possession of a rabbit, cut it in two parts, which is a very bad omen.

On account of all these evils [which of course were regarded as the result of the abandonment of the Hopi religion by the "sorcerers"] Tapólo sent a messenger to the chief of the Rattlesnake clan at Walpi, requesting him to destroy Awatobi. "I am a brave man," replied he, "but not for that reason will I consent to destroy Awatobi. I wish to increase the population, not to destroy it."

So the runner returned to Awatobi with the report that the Rattlesnake chief refused, and Tapólo sent a messenger to Oraibi with two small images, a male and a female figure. The Oraibi chief asked, "What is it?"

"I have come," said the messenger, "to ask if you will destroy Awatobi." He showed the two images, which represented the men and women of Awatobi, bidding him take his choice. The land with the springs of Awatobi was to go with the images. The Oraibi chief selected the female image, signifying that he chose to take the women. After the runner had departed, the Oraibi chief summoned all his officials and informed them that he had consented to destroy Awatobi in exchange for all the females of that village, and the springs and the land. They at once disapproved his course, declaring that they could have no use for land so far away; and so the chief despatched a man to Awatobi with the female image.

Next a man was sent again to Walpi, this time to the Warrior Chief, who, it was thought, on account of his office would surely do what was desired. The Warrior Chief gave the messenger a smoke and inquired, "What is it?"

"I have come to ask if you will destroy Awatobi."

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Good Morning

"That is my business," answered the chief, "and I will do it. How many of my people do you want?" He meant by this to ask how many of his warriors the Awatobi people expected to kill in the battle. The messenger replied: "There is nothing like that. We do not wish to kill any of your people. You will have all the women and girls, and the springs and the land for your payment."

"All right. I will do it. When do you wish me to come?"

"I will notify you later as to the time," said the messenger.

One day Tapólo went up the cañon into the Navaho country and requested the Navaho to receive his clanswomen, and after some talk they consented to do so. He directed them to build a signal fire at the appointed time, and then returned to Awatobi.

About midnight of the day set for the destruction of his people, Tapólo led his women outside the village, placed his *típoni* on the ground, strewed a line of meal in the direction they were to take, and bade them wait in the cañon until daylight and then make their way toward the column of smoke. So it was that the Tobacco women went into the Navaho country.[1] The chief took up his *típoni* and returned to the village, gathered up his valuables and a little food, and departed toward the north. In a little cañon near the spring Totóvi he took refuge among the rocks.

It was the season of the New Fire ceremony, and consequently all the males above infancy were passing the night in the kivas. Just before dawn the men of Walpi, accompanied by some from Mishongnovi and Oraibi, entered the town, bearing fagots of greasewood, pitchy piñon, and dry juniper-bark. They crept up to the kivas, and at a signal drew up the ladders. Embers were quickly secured from the numerous pits in which *píkami* was baking, and blazing fagots, followed by armfuls of brushwood from the surrounding piles, were tossed into the kivas. Strings of red peppers were snatched from the walls and thrown upon the flames to add their pungent fumes to the suffocating smoke. Scarcely a man was left alive, and with the few male survivors and all the females and infants, the raiders set out toward Walpi.

At a small sandy knoll between Walpi and Mishongnovi they camped, because they thought it better not to enter their villages at night with so many prisoners. On the following day they killed and mutilated the men and some of the women, and after dividing the remaining captives among the men of Walpi, Mishongnovi, and

[1] It is well known that Hâni, chief of the Tobacco clan at Walpi, is of mixed Navaho and Hopi descent.

Oraibi, the parties separated and proceeded homeward. This knoll is called Más-tsomo ["corpse knoll"].

When they had taken their departure from the raided village, Tapóla crept out of his hiding place in the cañon and went into Awatobi. There was a man left alive in a kiva. He called up to the chief, reproachfully: "Why are you waiting? They have gone. Why do you not go with them?" The chief answered, "The people are to blame for this, and they must bear it." Then he threw more wood down into the kiva and suffocated the man.

Tapóla remained four days in hiding, occasionally going to the ruined village. On the fourth day he began to wonder which way he should go. Should he follow his people? Should he go to Oraibi, to Mishongnovi? In the end he decided upon Walpi. He obtained water from the spring and set out westward. Not far from Awatobi he came upon the mutilated bodies of a man and a woman. Later he found four bodies similarly mutilated, and farther on, four more. It was now nearing sunset, and here he waited, for he wished to reach Walpi at night. At sunset he started again, and when he arrived at Walpi he went to the house of the Rattlesnake chief. Food was placed before him, and when he had eaten, he thanked the household, saying: "Thanks for your food, which I have eaten. Now you may do to me what you wish. You may kill me, or you may find some way for me to live with you."

"Who are you?" demanded the Rattlesnake chief.

"It is I. I am from Awatobi."

"Move over into the light where I can see you."

When Tapóla had moved into the light, the other at once recognized him and declared, "I will not kill you, because you have already eaten my food."

Then Tapóla thanked him, and the chief filled his pipe and handed it to him, and Tapóla said, "*I-naa* ['my father']." And the chief responded, "*I-tu* ['my child']." Tapóla smoked the pipe, returned it to his host, and filled his own, giving it to the chief, who said, "*I-naa*." And Tapóla replied, "*I-tu*." After the Rattlesnake chief had smoked, Tapóla said: "I will help the people here. I possess the power of bringing rain, and thus making good crops." So he was admitted to Walpi with the understanding that he was to do everything in his power for the good of the people.

When it became known that the Rattlesnake chief had admitted Tapóla, there was apprehension that he would cause trouble, because he was believed to be a sorcerer. They said he was a "man of two

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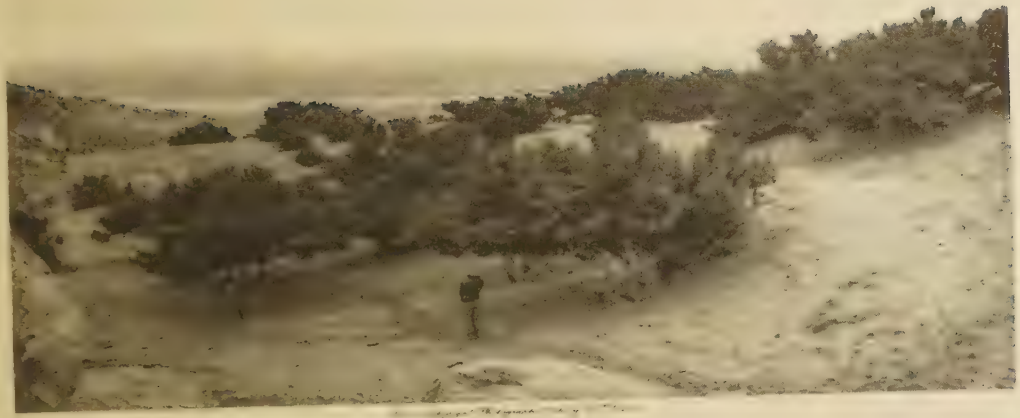
A PEACH ORCHARD.



talks." When Tapólo learned what they were saying about him, he assured the chief that he would never practise sorcery; and he complained that some of his accusers were themselves sorcerers. He confessed that he knew something more than the common life, but promised never to do anything but the straight things.

From Tapólo Walpi acquired the altars and rites of the five societies: Tŏ-wimi, Wŭwûtsim-wimi, Ál-wimi, Owâkûl-wimi, and Mazŏ-wimi.

At that time the Tewa people had not yet built the village Hano, nor had the Cloud clan from Homolobi settled at Walpi.

The Tobacco women who had escaped from Awatobi dwelt with the Navaho near Steamboat cañon for a year; then came Tapólo to bring them to Walpi, but the Navaho objected. Much disappointed, he devised a plan by which the women stole away while their husbands slept, and by different routes made their way to Walpi, where they married men of the Rattlesnake clan, and their sons married into the Rabbit clan.

MIGRATIONS OF THE REED CLAN

In the underworld Pŏkáṇ-hoya and Palŏṇao-hoya, the elder and the younger brother, lived with their grandmother Kŏkyaṇ-wûhti ["spider woman"] near the people, but apart from them. When the Reed people emerged upon earth, and observed that these three had accompanied them, they proposed that all travel together and help one another. To this the brothers consented and soon they were sent to find out a new and better land. They climbed to Nûvá-tûkyá-ovi ["snow mountain high-place" — San Francisco mountains], whence they beheld the basin of the Little Colorado covered with pools of stagnant water, and when they reported this condition, the people requested them to get rid of that water. So the brothers descended into the Grand cañon and consulted with another family just like themselves, two brothers of that name and an old Spider Woman. And after all together had prepared a bowl of medicine-water and looked into it to see what should be done, they made six arrows, using one feather each of a bluebird, a road-runner, a chicken-hawk, an eagle, a paroquet [*kyázo*], and a *táwa-manŏŭ* [a yellow bird about the size of a magpie]. With these the two brothers returned to the Snow mountains, and from the south side they shot the arrows one by one into the sides of the mountains, making small holes through which the water might drain off. But the holes were too small, the arrows too weak. They returned again

to the cañon, and after another consultation with their relatives they prepared another bowl of medicine-water. They gazed into it and saw a condor [*qátukuⁿ*], and they shot their arrows at the bird in the bowl. Immediately a sound of fluttering and falling was heard above them, and a great condor fell down before them. With its feathers they tipped four arrowshafts of pine, oak, spruce, and syringa, which they shot one by one into the rocky walls, and through a great hole water began to rush. As it poured through it cut out what is now the cañon of the Little Colorado. Though all the water drained off, the ground was too soft to support the weight of a man, so the brothers ground up a quantity of hard shells and stones, and scattered the dust over the mud, which soon hardened. Then they returned to the people, who prepared to move.

Making no permanent halt on the way, they reached Middle mesa and built a town of stone houses at Lömé-va, on the top of a small, conical butte on that side of the mesa looking toward Walpi. Then the two brothers, after giving to the chief two small stone images of themselves, declared their intention to go, and, in spite of the entreaties of the people, they and the Spider Woman departed to Ọ̈na-patûpa ["salt lake" — the Zuñi salt lake], where they still dwell.

While the Reed people lived at Lömé-va, others established a town on the other side of the mesa at the place now marked by the ruin of Old Mishongnovi, and thereafter the two peoples would join on such public occasions as dances and rabbit-hunts. A man had a pet cat,[1] which would hunt rats at night, and sometimes would bring rabbits to its master. Sikyá-fsi-tiyo ["yellow bird youth"], the son of the Crier Chief, longed for a pet, and, the people having heard of certain tame animals, he inquired of his father where they were to be found. The Crier Chief objected, "They are in the far-distant east, at Sucháp-tûqi."[2] But still the youth persisted, and his father at last gave his consent. "In four days I go," said the youth. "Let my sister grind corn and make piki."

On the third day the Crier Chief tied up a bundle of piki and at sunrise on the following morning the youth started. Both day and night he travelled, making brief stops at frequent intervals, and after many days he reached his journey's end. As he neared the mountaintop he saw Piváni [weasel] on guard. He approached.

[1] Probably a wildcat is meant, though the narrator is positive it was a pussy cat (*púzhiki*)!

[2] "Shell mountain" — the mountains east of Albuquerque. *Suchávo*, Olivella shells, are highly valued by the Pueblo Indians for making disc-beads.

Weasel was angry, and was preparing to leap at him, but he said, "Be quiet!" and offered a paho, and Weasel became peaceable. Thus also he appeased Cougar, and Bear, to whom he gave a red paho: for to Bear a red paho is always offered. On the top of the mountain, at the entrance of the home of the Dog people, lay the huge Snake, Kâtoyĕ, whom also he placated with a paho. At the very apex of the mountain was a large space covered with water, from the midst of which projected the tips of two ladder-posts: and as he looked downward, he saw human beings, who invited him to descend. He waded through the water to the ladder, which he found completely surrounded by walls of water, but itself untouched. He descended.

There was an old man smoking, and he gave the visitor a smoke. After four puffs, the youth said, "My father!" And the old man responded, "My son!" Then the young man filled his own pipe and gave his host a smoke. Meat and piki were placed before him, and when he had finished, the old man inquired, "Well, what is it?"

"Yes!" said the youth. "I have come hither a long distance, and I have endured hunger and thirst and weariness just for the sake of obtaining a dog for a pet."

"*Anchaai!*" said the old man. "You shall have a dog. But first we will dance, and while we dance you must look to see which you will take. Choose a pair, a male and a female."

Then preparations for the dance were made. All around on the walls hung dog-skins, which the people now put on; and as they danced, the young man sat by the fire observing them. He chose two, the smallest in the party, and when he picked them up all ceased dancing, hung up the skins, and gathered around their visitor, giving him counsel: "When you bring these dogs home, take good care of them; do not mistreat them. If any one mistreats them, he will have rheumatism in the knees: for that is the way the dogs defend themselves." The youth promised, and tied a cord about his waist for a belt, and in the folds of his robe he placed the two puppies. Then he departed.

At evening he camped, but before he himself ate, he fed the dogs. And thus he continued to do. When he was nearing home he put them down, and they followed him, but when they cried with weariness he carried them. At last he arrived home, very proud of his dogs, which, as they grew to maturity, helped him to hunt rabbits.

After a while the female dog bore four puppies. At night she would prowl about, seeking food for her children, and often she would

go to Mishongnovi and steal the food which was customarily placed in the little open windows. One night she was detected, and the next night the villagers set a watch, and after the dog had entered Mishongnovi they guarded all exits and killed her.

Then the Reed people were very downcast: they felt like leaving that place, and the young man, through his father the Crier Chief, announced that in four days they would depart. During the next four days the people ate as much as they could, so that they would not have to leave food behind them: for it would be impossible to carry all with them. Before sunrise on the fifth morning they placed in the flat south of where the mission now stands a long row of bowls containing cooked food, and, returning to the village, they took up their burdens and set out. As they passed the dishes, each person took a bit of food from each bowl, thus offering a prayer that the food might accompany them in spirit.

When the people of Mishongnovi discovered their departure, they sent after them messengers, who, overtaking them at the arroyo midway between East and Middle mesas, urged that it would be best for all if they should return: but the Reed people refused, saying that, having once started out, they could not turn back. Then the messengers begged some of their man-medicine,[1] and the leader of the Reed people placed a very small bit of his medicine in the palm of the other chief's hand: but a puff of wind swept it off into the dust. Unable to find it, the Mishongnovi chief asked for another piece, but the Reed chief replied: "No! I have given you one piece, and if it is lost, that is your fault." He did, however, give an ear of corn: for the Reed people had sacred corn, which yielded more than the corn of the Mishongnovi people. In the course of time a juniper grew up where the bit of man-medicine had fallen, and in later times, when the Mishongnovi warriors were preparing for battle, they came to this place and planted pahos.

As the Reed people moved toward East mesa, they found the Rattlesnake people living in the valley, and remained with them for a time, but owing to the attacks of surrounding tribes, the Rattlesnake people built the village Kuchaptuveia on the terrace at the west side of the mesa, and the Reed people founded Kisakobi[2] also on the terrace, but at the southern point of the mesa.

[1] The Reed clan controls the Warrior fraternity, and possesses medicines that are supposed to bestow courage. These are used also by the Snake fraternity.

[2] Kisakobi is the ruin now sometimes called, as by Fewkes, "Old Walpi." Formerly its inhabitants were called Tsanā Wālpini ("seven Walpians"), in allusion to the fact that only seven families were in the party of Reed people who left Middle mesa.

At a later time, when enemies became so troublesome that there was no safety below the mesa, the Bear chief asked the Reed people what they could contribute to the common good if they were permitted to join the village on the mesa. The Reed chief replied that they had the medicine of bravery, and by this they would be able to defend the village. So they were admitted to Walpi.

MIGRATIONS OF THE BADGER CLAN

After emerging from the underworld with all other human beings, the people who afterward composed the Badger clan wandered about the earth and at last settled at Kisíu-va,[1] where they lived with the Kafsínamŭ. They left that place and travelled down Oraibi wash, and about halfway to the site of Oraibi they stopped and built a village, the ruin of which is called Síu-va, because it is only a short distance from the spring of that name. It was at this place that they saw a Badger come out of its burrow, and they began to call themselves Badger people. Porcupine also appeared to them, but they did not take him for their *nátuila* ["relative" — a word applied to the totem of a clan, as well as to a blood relation]. So Porcupine said, "I will do something for you, so that you will be very glad to take me for your *nátuila*." Then he ate piñon-gum, and defecated blue paint. He ate skunk-bush berries, and vomited red paint. He ate flowers of rabbit-brush and defecated yellow paint. So then they took him also for their totem. Some of these people later took Butterfly for their *nátuila*, as he was their messenger.

One day Butterfly was sent to seek a new country, and going down the valley he discovered the village Oraibi. When the people received his report they moved toward Oraibi, but as they could not obtain permission to enter they camped for a short time, less than a year, at the foot of the mesa, and then went on down the valley for a distance of about three miles. It was autumn.

One winter day the son of the Crier Chief at Oraibi, hunting, pursued a rabbit far down the valley. At last it disappeared in a clump of bushes. The youth had searched long for its tracks without finding them, when he heard a voice: "Here I am!" In the midst of the clump of grass whence the sound came he saw a circular hole in the earth. Said the voice, "Come in!" He asked, "Will there be any harm?"

"There will be no harm. Come!"

[1] A spring, the principal home of the Kachinas.

So he went down through the opening, and found himself in a room with a number of people. He then learned that the rabbit he had been pursuing was one of the girls who now sat there in the kiva. They gave him food and a smoke, and when he had finished they bade him watch the girls, who were weaving a picture of Wiyá-kötĕ,[1] uncle of the Kachinas, so that he might learn how to make ceremonial sashes for the Kachina dances. He was to remain all night, they said. During the night they performed the Kachina dances, and in the morning sent him home to tell his people what he had seen.

The Crier Chief was absent searching for his son; yet when his father returned the youth said nothing, but passed the day wandering about the streets. That evening after the chief had smoked with his son, he asked the boy where he had been. So the youth related his adventure, how he had visited the people who had been spurned from the village, and had learned their dances, and ended with the statement that the Badger people, though they had not been permitted to remain at Oraibi, still hoped that in return for what they had taught him they might be allowed to enter. Then the Crier Chief summoned the Houses Chief, and it was agreed that the Badger people should join the village.

There was rejoicing among the Badger people when the Crier Chief's son brought the message. Four days he remained with them, and when he returned to Oraibi he announced that they would come within four days. "They do not wish to come in the day," he explained, "but at night. And we must give them entertainment during the night." It happened that the Flute clan were to make their pahos on the third day from the time, but it was decided that this rite should be postponed until the day set by the Badger people for their arrival.

On the fourth day the youth returned to the Badger people, and found them in readiness for the journey, with quantities of food for distribution at Oraibi. Having informed him that he must marry the girl who had brought him to them, and that he should be chief of the new Kachina clan, they gave him a *típoni* and sent him ahead to have his people in their two kivas that night.

The uncle of the Kachinas declared that he would remain there as a supernatural being, and the others, leaving him, started on their

[1] This Kachina is represented in the design on ceremonial sashes. Two diamond-shaped figures are the eyes, the teeth are indicated, and two parallel straight lines represent upright stripes on the cheeks.

way. When they reached Oraibi in two parties, wearing their Kachina masks, the first division went into Mǫ̀n-kiva and danced, and distributed their gifts of food; and as they departed to the kiva Násavi, the second party entered Mǫ́n-kiva. Thus the one party followed the other throughout the night. At sunrise they ran about on the roofs of the houses, and the people, who had gathered there to watch the dance, fled in terror; and while they were hiding in the houses, the Badger people ran to the north side of the plaza, and, removing their masks, appeared as ordinary human beings. In that part of the village they built their homes.

After they had lived for many years at Oraibi, a Badger woman on a visit to Walpi during a ceremony failed to return. It was learned that she had married a Walpi man, and thus the Badger clan was founded in that village. This Badger woman bought an apartment in the group of Rattlesnake houses near the rock in the dance place, but later the Rattlesnake people took back this house by force, and the Badger family moved across the mesa and erected a house in the newly founded village Sichomovi, which was established to relieve the congestion in Walpi. The first family to build in this new village was of the Squash clan, the second of the Cloud, the third of the Bear, and the fourth was the Badger family. Last in Sichomovi was the Tansy-mustard clan.[1]

MIGRATION OF THE ÁSA CLANS

The people from whom are descended the Ása ["tansy-mustard"] people came upon the earth at Sípapûn-tûqi ["Sípapûni mountain"], near the head of Hopók-vayû ["east river" — Rio Grande].

When the Hopi began to have trouble with the Navaho and the Ute, the Crier Chief was sent to East river for help, and these Tewa people at the village Háno said to him: "If you will treat us well, we will come. You must give us land and food." This the Hopi chief promised, and they told him to watch the east, and when he should see a narrow streak of cloud he would know they were starting: this cloud would carry their food and other possessions.

The people who left Háno were Cháqaina.[2] They took with

[1] After the destruction of Awatobi most of the Awatobi Badger women were taken to Mishongnovi, and a few to Oraibi. There is now one family of Awatobi Badgers at Oraibi, but the Hopi think there is no relationship between them and the original Oraibi Badgers, the former having their own separate traditions. The Awatobi Badgers once inhabited a village, now a ruin, between Hathorn's store and the ruin of Awatobi, before they moved to Awatobi.

[2] The Ása clan brought into the Hopi pantheon the Cháqaina Kachina, the mask of which personage is displayed in the kiva during the winter solstice ceremony.

them Pá-lölökaṇû ["water bullsnake"], both the male and the female, and for their scouts they had Hóspoa [roadrunner] and Pósiw'û [magpie]. Acoma was the first pueblo they visited, and some of the people remained at that village. Several times on the march they were attacked by Ute and Navaho. Some of these Tewa joined the Zuñi [founding the Aíaho clan], and the rest resumed their long journey westward. On the mesa near Awatobi they built the town Cháqaina-ki, and later went on toward East mesa.

Near the place now called Five Houses some children were crying, and flowers of *ásа* [tansy-mustard] were given to them. This was the origin of the name of the clan. Roadrunner and Magpie were messengers of the people, and they also were *nátuila* [totem]. During their journeys some of the people once rested under a clump of oaks [*qíṇvi*], and hence arose the use of names referring to oak.

South of Five Houses a Hopi met them with the report that he did not know whether or not his people would admit them to their village, because it was not the chief himself, but his brother, that had sent for them. Much disheartened by the thought that they might not be admitted after their difficult march, they nevertheless decided to go on and see what was the chief's intention.[1]

At the foot of the mesa near the present ruin of Kisakobi the Bear chief and the Rattlesnake chief met them, and, when the Tewa chief confessed that he brought no beneficial ceremonies for the common good, refused to admit them. So they went on to the spring Tĕvĕskya, into which they put the two Water Bullsnakes, the male looking toward the west, and the female toward the east. Then they marched on, climbing up the hill and passing through the Gap, and built a village a little west of the spring Ís-va, the ruin of which is now called Sikyâ-owa-t̂somo ["yellow rock knoll"].

From this village the women would go up to Walpi and grind for the Hopi women, but, contrary to a custom that still prevails, they received no meal for their labor, only a little food, which the Hopi women would place boiling hot in their palms. And when the Tewa men worked for the Hopi, they were never paid except with discarded food. But mostly the men passed their time in hunting rabbits.

While they lived at this place there was a raid by the Ute, and the Crier Chief came down from Walpi to ask if they would help; but the Tewa men would make no answer, because they had been so

[1] The existence of a small ruin at the place where this news was brought leads Hopi traditionists to think that the Ása must have lived there for a time.

badly used. Again and again he came, but not until the Houses Chief himself appeared and said, "My children, the enemy is coming close to us," did they consent to help. Then they threw off their clothing and painted their bodies from head to foot with red paint, and in the old Tewa fashion they wrapped beaver-skin strips about the braids of their hair and painted their faces with different colors. Then they marched up to the Gap, whence, in the valley to the west, they saw the Hopi fighting the Navaho and the Ute; and they went down the trail to the spring Tĕvĕskya. When they drew near, the enemy made a charge, but the Tewa warriors pressed forward, and the enemy, finding them men of courage, retreated, and the Tewa pursued them, killing many as they went up the valley past Wípho spring. There on the side of the cliff at Siqí-teika [1] ["meat promontory," — so called because here they killed all the horses of the enemy] the invaders took refuge among the rocks. When only four of the enemy were left they begged for mercy, that they might go back to their people and spread the news; and they were spared.

When the warriors returned to the Gap, the Walpi head men met them and thanked them, and the chief, pointing to Sávû, a point on the cliffs at the south side of Keams cañon, and to Owáko, a place on the cliff northwest of Walpi, said: "These two places will never disappear. They will remain. They shall be your landmarks. You shall have the land up the valleys above both of these points."

On the following day the chiefs of Walpi led the Tewa people to the site of the present village of Hano and left them there. They were still building houses there when another raid was made, and this time they made ready for defence without solicitation from the Warrior Chief of Walpi. They went down into the valley west of the mesa against the large party of Ute, who retreated up the valley. Clear into the cañon above Wîpho they were pursued, and about five miles above the spring the chase ceased and a pitched battle was fought. The Ute chief made a mark on the ground, and shouted: "We have had enough of this fighting! The few who are left will go back with the news!" But regardless of this plea, the Hano men continued the battle, and when only three were left, the leader of the trio said, "We three will take back the news to our people." So at sunset the fighting ceased and the Hano men returned homeward. On the way back they removed the hearts from four corpses, and at the mark made by the Ute chief they dug four small, circular holes

[1] According to Fewkes, Siqí-tûqi ("meat mound"), because here the Ute made a rampart of sheep bodies.

to the depth of an arm-length, placed the hearts in them, and piled stones over them. The piles of stones are still there, and any one who wishes to have a brave heart makes an offering at that spot.

Some time after this an Ása man took away the wife of the Walpi Crier Chief, and the Walpi people were so angry that they wanted to drive all the Hano people out of the country. The Ása made an offering to the Water Bullsnakes in Tĕvĕskya spring and then started eastward toward their former home on East river; but when they were only at Tawá-pa spring the Walpi people, reconsidering the matter, sent the chiefs of the Firewood and Bear clans to lead them back, fearing that if they went beyond the wash the Water Bullsnakes in Tĕvĕskya would move and the mesa would be shaken down. So they were led up the Stairway trail into Walpi and placed at the south end of the mesa, to become the guards at that point.

Having learned of the courage of the eastern people and being again hard-pressed by the Navaho and the Ute, the Hopi sent another invitation to the Tewa in the Rio Grande country. Those who answered this call did not come along the usual route through Zuñi and Awatobi, but through Keams cañon. They built their houses on the ruins left by the Hano people when they started back home after the stealing of the Walpi Crier Chief's wife, and thus founded the modern village of Hano. After living here for some time and helping the Hopi against their enemies, two of the chiefs desired to return to the eastern country. Some of their people determined to go with them, and they brought their blankets down from the village and piled them up preparatory to departing. This place is now called Tavŭp-tsomo ["blanket knoll"]. They set forth, stopping here and there to build villages, in which they lived for a few years. Finally they became extinct. None ever got back to East river.[1]

At the time of the great famine [about 1780] some of the Hopi went to Tŭpkaï-páka ["cañon mouth" — the mouth of Cañon de Chelly], where they lived among the Navaho, still holding their Hopi ceremonies. Many of these migrants were of the Ása clan. The second generation of mixed Hopi and Navaho returned to the Hopi villages, and at first they were taken back into Walpi; but this crowded the pueblo, and many of them joined the recently established village of Sichomovi. These first families in Sichomovi were of the following clans: Cloud, Butterfly of Hano, Ása, Badger, Bear, and Squash.

[1] The Hopi believe it is a very bad omen to retrace one's trail, and on this ground they account for the extinction of this group of people.

RELIGION

The principal Hopi deities are the following:

1. Kaʃ̌ínamŭ (singular, Kaʃ̌ína). The Kachinas are supernatural, anthropomorphic beings inhabiting the water-world that underlies the earth. While a certain spring called Kisíu-va [1] is regarded as their home, they are believed to be present also in all other bodies of living water, the Hopi conception being that all bodies of water are parts of one great ocean underlying the earth, in other words, mere openings through the earth-crust into the water-world. In ancient times these beings sometimes appeared to the people, but when they did so they always wore masks made of yucca-leaves. The first Kachinas were visible beings of supernatural power, but because the people did not treat them with consideration they became invisible. They are now represented by masked dancers. Certain clan legends represent the ancestors of those clans as having been Kachinas who gave up their supernatural attributes and became mere human beings. All Hopi boys and many girls are initiated into the Kachina order and thus become capable of participating as masked Kachinas in the various summer dances. This initiation of children, occurring as a part of the Powámŭ ceremony, is elsewhere described.[2] The Kachinas are of numerous kinds, the most important being:

(*a*) Lĕ́na Kaʃ̌ínamŭ ("flute Kachinas").

(*b*) Kŭ́wan Kaʃ̌ínamŭ ("all-colors Kachinas").

(*c*) Muzíwus Kaʃ̌ínamŭ ("beans Kachinas").

(*d*) Ká'na Kaʃ̌ínamŭ, or Yĕ́ho Kaʃ̌ínamŭ ("throwing Kachinas," so called because they throw boiled corn among the spectators). Their songs begin with the word *Ká'na*, hence the first name. They dance only in the evening after the daylight dancing of the others.

(*e*) Hehéa Kaʃ̌ínamŭ (*hehéa*, a nickname applied to uxorious men). These Kachinas are represented as being very fond of women.

(*f*) Kóyĕmsi Kaʃ̌ínamŭ, or Taʃ̌ökta Kaʃ̌ínamŭ ("knob-head Kachinas," in allusion to the peculiar protuberances on their masks, which completely envelope the head). They

[1] Kisíu-va ("shadow spring") is on the east side of the timbered hills to the northeast of Walpi, the spot being known as Kísiuŭ ("shadow place") on account of the shade cast by perpendicular rocks about the spring. See the myth on page 211.

[2] See page 170.

correspond to the Zuñi Kóyĕmăshi, and it would be difficult indeed to distinguish between a Zuñi and a Hopi mask.

(*g*) Tŭmas Katcínamŭ ("female Kachinas").

(*h*) Hahaíi Katcínamŭ (so-named in allusion to their cry). These last two kinds are called the "mothers of all the Kachinas," but thus far no myth shedding light on the epithet has been discovered.

(*i*) Tûṇwŭp Katcínamŭ ("whipping Kachinas"). These ceremonially whip the children at their initiation into the Kachina order.

(*j*) Hĕĕ Katcínamŭ. These are personated by women dressed as warriors.

(*k*) Tûváfs Katcínamŭ ("weeping Kachinas"). These always weep after speaking.

(*l*) Kŏkölĕ Katcínamŭ (so named in allusion to their peculiar cry).

(*m*) Powámŭ Katcínamŭ. These are called the "uncles of all the Kachinas."

(*n*) Wiyákötĕ Katcínamŭ. These also are described as "uncles of the Kachinas."

(*o*) Natáaska Katcínamŭ.

(*p*) Soyál Katcínamŭ. These appear only in the winter solstice ceremony, Soyálaṇû.

(*q*) Aṇá Katcínamŭ ("long-hair Kachinas").

(*r*) Cháqaina Katcínamŭ.

(*s*) Wawásh Katcínamŭ ("running Kachinas"). These pursue and punish in various ways those spectators who attempt to escape with food brought into the plaza by the Kachinas. See pages 199. 203.

(*t*) Náa'mû Katcínamŭ.

(*u*) Súyuk Katcínamŭ ("ogress Kachinas").

Many other Kachinas have been added by late borrowing from other pueblos, such as Zuñi, Jemez, and other eastern settlements. Recently a number of Kachinas have been invented by individual Hopi; and this doubtless is a result of the universal desire among primitive people for masked characters. It is not to be believed that a man could deliberately create a dog mask or a sheep mask,

* Reading from left to right, the effigies represent the following personages: upper row — Lĕna (flute) Katcína, Cháveyu (giant) Katcína, Hótĕ (so called from her cry) Katcína, Máalo (referring to its eagle-feathers) Katcína; lower row — Hehéa Katcína, Qĕw'û (wolf) Katcína, Páṇwû (mountain-sheep), Paíyakyamû (clown), Aṇá Katcína. Note the vulva symbols on the leg and side of Hehéa.

From Copyright Photograph, 1921 by E. P. Coutts

KACHINA DOLLS*

as has been done recently, and persuade himself that there are any supernatural beings among the Kachinas whom these masks represent. Even Pahána (American) Kaʃ́ína appears in the dances of today.

It is firmly believed that the Kachinas dwell in Kisíu-va. Sometimes the people who visit this spring see what they believe to be evidences that the Kachina children have been making mud piki, in the same manner as human children, and occasionally they see finger-prints on the walls of rock.

2. Táwa, the Sun, is considered to be the father of all life. Every Hopi utters or "thinks" a morning prayer and offers cornmeal to the rising Sun, asking for long life without sickness. Chiefs pray for all the people, while others pray only for themselves. The Sun is the principal deity worshipped in the winter solstice ceremony, which was brought to the Hopi country by the Cloud clan and others from the south.

3. Mŭyôŭ, the Moon, is the Father who guards the people at night. He is not especially worshipped in a ceremony, but any individual in trouble makes pahos for many deities, including the Moon, and deposits them in various unprescribed places.

4. Sótûû, the Stars, are regarded as supernatural beings. Until about 1890 the taboo on drinking water at meals was commonly observed; and when the desire to drink became imperative, one went outside and with uplifted face — "inhaled the spirit of the stars," and thus made oneself strong. When a Hopi happens to pass near a spring in which the stars are reflected, he takes a drink from it for the same purpose. In the winter solstice ceremony pahos are made for the Stars and the Moon, and individuals starting on a journey make pahos for them in order that these deities may guard the travellers at night.

5. Sótŭkunaṇi ("star rain god") is a sky deity especially besought for rain. He is a supreme being to whom prayers are offered for general and specific benefactions of all kinds. He is not identified with any visible object, but is said to dwell above, and is sometimes called Óvĕ-moṇwi ("above chief").

6. Mŭiṇwa, a god of germination, dwells underground, and having no particular shrine, is supplicated in any place for good crops. Átkyak-moṇwi ("nadir chief") is said to be another name for the same deity. He is represented as a very large man with a body made up of all the edible fruits and seeds. A successful farmer is said to be a "Mŭiṇwa man."

7. Nayánap-tûmsi ("all-kinds-of-seeds clanswoman") is another deity concerned with the germination of seeds. As the wife of Mûiṇwa she lives with him beneath the ground, and both are supplicated by those who especially desire bountiful crops. Like all other supernatural beings they receive prayer-sticks at the winter solstice ceremony.

8. Nalǒnaṇŭ-monwitŭ ("four chiefs") are rain gods presiding at the four solstitial points, that is, the points on the horizon marked by the rising and setting sun at the summer and the winter solstice. Sótŭkunaṇi, the sky god, is the rain god of the zenith, but apparently Mûiṇwa takes the place of the nadir deity. Pahos made for these gods are deposited at springs, the suppliant choosing a spring at each of the solstitial points. One going on a journey makes pahos for these deities and places them all in one spring in the direction of his destination. The North Chief controls the cold, and the north wind (*qínyôŭ;* cf. *qinî'wika*, northward) is his breath. These deities manifest themselves to the eye in the form of clouds.

9. Halákvŭ, or Tûvíp-haiyaṇŭ, is the whirlwind. The name Halákvû refers to the rattling noise made by the rubbish carried along by a whirlwind; Tûvíp-haiyaṇû to the whirling motion itself. In every ceremony this deity is supplicated that he may remain peaceful and quiet, and permit the ceremony to be finished in good weather. Pahos or *naqáqŭsi* are always made for him, but there is no particular shrine at which they are deposited. Warriors ask him to become active, that they may the more easily approach their enemy unseen.

10. Másôŭ grants both good and evil petitions. When the first clans came into the Walpi country he was a supernatural in human, visible form, dwelling on the spot where Kuchaptuvela afterward was built; but he soon disappeared and became a spirit.[1] His ancient home among the rocks below the mesa is now his shrine. Másôŭ is one of the principal deities worshipped in the winter solstice ceremony, and indeed few, if any, are to be ranked above him. In a way not yet clearly understood he is connected with fire. He is also in a sense a god of the dead, his name being used as the term for corpse; but the connection here lies merely in the fact that both Másôŭ and the spirits of the dead inhabit the underground region. Most important of all, Másôŭ is a god of germination; and here the connecting idea seems to be the conception that the growth of plants is dependent on warmth, and warmth is the product of fire.

[1] See Index for numerous references to this personage. In spite of this localization, which is recognized at the other villages, both Middle mesa and Oraibi have shrines of Másôŭ.

Probably the best statement of the position of Másôŭ in Hopi mythology is that he is the *genius loci* in very much the way this phrase was understood by the Romans. He is a beneficent spirit, and answers the requests of all who in the prescribed manner pray for good crops, long life, and health. But also he grants the desires of those who pray for evil purposes; hence he formerly was much supplicated by sorcerers. To summarize: while the several conceptions of the function of Másôŭ are not perfectly clear, perhaps not even to the Hopi themselves, it is quite plain that his chief function is the care of germinating seeds and growing crops.

All the deities mentioned above receive attention in every Hopi ceremony. The following however are supplicated only on special occasions.

11. Tíhkûyi, or Tûwâ-poṇ-tûmsi ("earth around clanswoman"), is a female deity who gave birth to all the species of game animals, from rabbits to elk.[1] Offerings are left at her shrine in the winter solstice ceremony, that she may increase the supply of game, and when a hunting party is organized she is requested to give the hunters permission to kill her children.

12. Pŏkâṇ-hoya (*pŏkaṇ*, meaning unknown; *hóya*, little) and Palŏṇao-hoya ("echo little"), his younger twin, are the boy war gods. Two gods bearing these names live in the crater of Zuñi Salt lake, and two others at Óṇ-tûpka ("salt cañon") in the Grand cañon, each pair with its grandmother, Spider Woman. When the Hopi make prayer-sticks or *naqáqŭsi* for the warrior gods at the Salt lake, they deposit them on the east side of the pueblo, and when the offerings are intended for those at the Salt cañon they are placed on the west side of the mesa. The exigencies of story-telling have resulted in the invention of many other homes for the warrior gods, but these two places are the only homes recognized in ceremonies. The twin gods are supplicated for courage, and because of their indifference to suffering, they are requested to visit the North Chief and have him send cold weather, which brings snow and resultant moisture for the fields. As there are numerous myths describing the manner in which the brothers extricated people from all kinds of difficulties, so in actual life they are besought with pahos and prayers to help the sufferer out of his worst troubles. In mythology the war gods travel on the rainbow, or on the downy feather of an eagle, and thus move about with almost instantaneous rapidity. They understand the language of all creatures, and know all the secrets of medicines

[1] See pages 190–193.

to cure sickness. They have great power, not only against ordinary human beings, but even against sorcerers, whom they outwit by becoming invisible and concealing themselves behind an invisible but impenetrable barrier; so that the sorcerers, though they also can assume invisibility, can do no harm to the war gods because their missiles of *sucháva* (Olivella shells) are checked by the unseen wall. Two wooden (?) figurines of the war gods are kept in a shrine on the southern slope of a mesa south of Walpi, and are taken thence to Mishongnovi for the approximately quadrennial initiation of Wŭwŭ-ſsimŭ. Another pair, made of stone, is kept in a niche in the Walpi Warrior Fraternity house.

13. Tála-tûmsi ("dawn clanswoman"),[1] a deity supplicated only in the new fire ceremony, is said to be a personification of the female principle. Since women are not admitted to the kiva during the new fire ceremony, the image of the goddess, when brought to Qán-kiva, is set on the roof during a certain number of days, while the initiates are within. She thus typifies the godmother called in to officiate at the birth of a child. While the image sits on the roof, women throw meal toward it and pray to the goddess that they may have children and bear them without pain.

14. Naná-mana ("cornsmut girl") has a shrine at the left of the trail from Walpi to Middle mesa. Like many other shrines it contains a piece of petrified wood. These objects, being somewhat uncommon in this region, are placed in shrines simply to mark them as unusual places, and have no special religious significance. There is a myth[2] relating how Naná-mana, after bidding the people pray to her for good crops, disappeared at the place now marked by the shrine.

15. Ôṇ-wûhti ("salt woman") is supplicated with offerings at two shrines, one at "Salt cañon" in the Grand cañon, the other near the Salt lake of the Zuñi. Supplicants pray that they may obtain the salt easily, saying, for instance, "We offer these prayers to you that you may keep the salt pure, and let us get it easily." The warrior gods also receive similar petitions from the salt gatherers.

16. Pâ-lölökaṇû ("water bullsnake") is the personification of the water-spirit. This is the so-called "plumed serpent." The cult was brought from the south by the Cloud clan, and another phase of the same cult was imported by the Tansy-mustard clan and other

[1] While Fewkes's translation of "*Dawn* Woman" has been used here, no informant interviewed would concede the translation. Dawn is *talávaiya*, while *tála* is daylight, or a period of twenty-four hours. There seems to be no reason for questioning the translation, in spite of the dissent of informants.

[2] See pages 198–199.

Tewa people from the Rio Grande valley. The earth is believed to be underlaid by a world of water, and springs are mere openings, or eyes as the Spanish call them, leading out of the water-world. Although the Water Bullsnake inhabits the lower world, while his power is everywhere and offerings to him may be made in any spring, still the spring Tawá-pa is regarded as the real home of Pá-lölökaṇû. Images of the Water Bullsnake are exhibited in any Kachina ceremony in February and March, and sometimes in the winter solstice ceremony.

17. Kókyaṇ-wûhti ("spider woman") is prominent in myths, playing the part of fairy godmother and is possessed of almost unlimited power. She is the grandmother of the twin warrior gods, and appears sometimes in human form, sometimes in the form of various animals, but more often as a spider. In opposing sorcery she assumes the spider form and bids the one whom she is defending to place her behind his ear, from which position she directs his acts. Prayers for help are offered to Spider Woman at any time.

CEREMONIES

The religious and ceremonial life of the Hopi centers in the kiva, which is simply a room, wholly or partly subterranean and entered by way of a ladder through an opening in the flat roof. The five kivas at Walpi, from south to north, are as follow:

1. Móṇ-kiva ("chief kiva"), which, as its name indicates, is regarded as the most important. Its membership is derived largely from the Flute division of the Horn clan and from the Cloud clan.

2. Wiqálvi, or Wiqálap-kiva ("boiling-fat kiva" — so named in allusion to the boiling of a very fat sheep at the dedication), which is closely allied with the Tansy-mustard clan.

3. Násavi, or Nasáp-kiva ("middle kiva"), in which men of the Rattlesnake clan predominate.

4. Ál-kiva ("horn kiva"), which obtains its members mostly from the Horn clan.

5. Tsiváto (an adopted Spanish word), or Tsivátop-kiva ("ram kiva" — a ram having been served at the dedicatory feast); or Qán-kiva ("mescal kiva"), in which a majority are of the Reed clan.

While the membership of a kiva consists principally of men and boys from some certain clan or clans, there is no case in which all the members of a kiva belong to one clan — a condition inseparable from the provision that a man may change his kiva membership, and in fact made necessary by the existence of more clans than kivas. It is probable, nevertheless, that originally the kivas were clan institutions.

The following is a complete list of the fraternities, or priesthoods, at Walpi, the religious rites controlled by them, and the date of the ceremonial smoke that precedes each ceremony.

Fraternity	*Member*	*Members*	*Ceremony*	*Ceremonial Smoke*	*Usual Designation, or Character of Ceremony*
Wúwûtsim-wimi	Wúwûtsimû	Wúwûtsimtû	Wúwûtsimû	Fifth day after the end of Mamzó-yûṇya, November	New fire ceremony
Tó-wimi [1]	Tátôkya	Tátôkyamtû			
Ál-wimi [2]	Ála-taka [3]	Áahltû [3]			
Qán-wimi [4]	Qáni-taka [5]	Qáqantû [5]	Soyálaṇû	Tenth day before the winter solstice, about December 12 [6]	Winter solstice ceremony
Soyál-wimi	Soyál-wimkya	Soyál-wiwimkyamû	Mómtsit-yĕsĕ [8]	Final day of Soyálaṇû, about December 21	Warrior fraternity ceremony
Móß-wimi [9]	Móß-wimkya [9]	Móß-wiwimkyamû [9]	Powámû-yûṇya [10]	First day of the moon Powá-mûya, February [7]	Public purification ceremony
			Nímaniw'û [9]	July	Niman, or Farewell, Kachina dance
Powámû-wimi	Powámû-wimkya	Powá-wiwimkyamû	Katsín-ti [10]	Numerous dances from February to the end of July	Kachina dances
Kaßín-wimi [9]	Kaßína	Kaßínamû			
Chû-wimi [11]	Chû-wimkya	Chû-wiwimkyamû	Chû-yûṇya	Fourth to eighth day of summer	Snake dance
Tsôp-wimi [12]	Tsôp-wimkya	Tsôp-wiwimkyamû	Tsôp-yûṇya	Pá-mûya moon (August) in odd years	Antelope dance
Lĕn-wimi [13]	Lĕn-wimkya	Lĕn-wiwimkyamû	Lĕn-yûṇya	Fourth to eighth day of summer Pá-mûya moon (August) in even years	Flute dance
Lakón-wimi [14]	Lakón-wimkya	Lalkón-wiwimkyamû	Lalkón-yûṇya	Fifth day after the end of the Snake or the Flute dance	Lakon dance
Yayá-wimi [15]	Yayá-wimkya	Yayá-wiwimkyamû [15]	Yayá-yûṇya	About the first of September at irregular intervals	Magician's ceremony
Mazó-wimi [16]	Mazó-wimkya	Mamzó-wiwimkyamû	Mamzó-yûṇya	Fifth day after the end of Lalkón-yûṇya	Mamzrau ceremony
Owákûl-wimi [16]	Owákûl-wimkya	Owákûl-wiwimkyamû	Owákûl-yûṇya [16]	October, at irregular intervals	Owakul ceremony

[1] Also Tátôkya-wimi. *Tólowi*, singing.

[2] *Ála*, horn; *ála-taka*, horn man; *áahltû*, horns.

[3] *Qáni*, mescal; *qáni-taka*, mescal man; *qáqantû*, mescals.

[4] But when Soyálaṇû is to be a sixteen-day ceremony, involving the initiation of new members, the Smoke occurs on the eighteenth day before the solstice, that is, about December 4.

[5] *Moß* may be related to Keres *Mo'ítse*, Hopi. The individual member of this society is also called Kalĕ-taka, "brave man," plural, Kákalé-taktû. An alternative of the collective Móswiwimkyamû is Mómtsitû. *Mómßit-yĕsĕ*, "Mómtsitû sit."

[6] *Yûṇya*, assembly.

[7] See Lunar Calendar, pages 250–251.

[8] *Tsĕ*, home.

[9] *Kaßín-ti* ("Kachina dance") is the generic name of various Kachina ceremonies occurring from February to the end of July. The first Kachinas appear in the Powámû ceremony in February, and the last appearance is in Nímaniw'û in July.

[10] *Chûa*, rattlesnake.

[11] *Tsĕna*, flute.

[12] *Tyóviom*, antelope.

[13] A society of women, with certain male officials.

[14] The fraternity of magicians is extinct. An alternative of the collective designation is Yáyatû.

[15] Lálkon-ti, Mámzó-ti, Owákûl-ti, et cetera, merely designate the last day of the respective ceremonies, when the members dance in public (*ti*, dance), and are not the proper names of the ceremonies themselves.

SHIBAULOVI SNAKE KIVA

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SHIPAULOVI SNAKE KIVA

Wŭwûʧimû, the New Fire Ceremony

The so-called new fire ceremony, an eight-day rite, occurs annually in November, and is jointly controlled by four fraternities: Wŭwûʧsim-wimi, Tŏ-wimi, Ál-wimi, and Qán-wimi, which meet respectively in the following kivas: Wiqálvi, Móṇ-kiva, Ál-kiva, and Qán-kiva.[1] While the ceremony is named for the Wŭwûʧsim-wimi fraternity, the Tátôkyamŭ play the most important part and hence occupy Móṇ-kiva. The director of the entire ceremony is the Tátôkyamŭ chief. For a long time Háni, of the Tobacco clan, a lineal descendant of the Awatobi chief who introduced the ceremony into Walpi, has filled the position.

At irregular intervals of four to six years initiates are taken into these fraternities, and the ceremony then occupies sixteen days and assumes a more complicated form, owing to the introduction of rites attending the initiation. The sixteen-day celebration is called Ná'tṇa,[2] a word that refers to the introduction of novitiates into the kivas. An initiation occurred in 1910 and again in 1916.

These four fraternities include in their membership practically all the adult males of Walpi and Sichomovi. There were in 1911 about twenty Tátôkyamŭ, an equal number of Qáqantŭ, some thirty Áahltŭ, and perhaps sixteen Wŭwûʧimtŭ.

Three of the fraternities, and the rites themselves, were acquired from Awatobi, when that village was destroyed in the year 1700 during a performance of this very ceremony. The fourth, Qán-wimi, was an institution of the Cloud clan when it came up from the south and joined Walpi, after the destruction of Awatobi.[3] Each of the three villages on Middle mesa, as well as Oraibi, holds its own performance of the ceremony, but Shipaulovi joins with Shongopavi to have its new members initiated. The rites are not practised at Hano, but some of its men belong to the Walpi fraternities.

Each day of the ceremony is named, and the names are constant for all ceremonies of the same length. In the following list the calendar date on which the various days fell in 1911 is given.

Nov. 12 Tsoófʂṇa ("they smoke")[4]

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[1] Qán-kiva is so named only during the ceremony, at other times being called Tsiváto.

[2] *Naacnaiya* of Fewkes is simply the name of the twelfth day, *naásna*.

[3] There is a hint in an Awatobi tradition (page 186) that Wŭwûʧim-wimi and Tŏ-wímí originated on the Rio Grande.

[4] The first two are preliminary days, and in the Hopi calendar of the ceremony do not count as a part of the performance, which really begins its eight or sixteen days' course with Sŭs-tala.

Nov. 13 Tiṇava ("announcement")
1. Nov. 14 Sŭs-tala ("first day")
2. Nov. 15 Lŏs-tala ("second day")
3. Nov. 16 País-tala ("third day")
4. Nov. 17 Yŭṇya ("assembly")
5. Nov. 18 Sŭskahimŭ ("one not anything," that is, one day of rest)
6. Nov. 19 Komók-totókya (*kómokta*, to carry a bundle of wood; *mókta*, bundle)
7. Nov. 20 Totókya
8. Nov. 21 Tíhŭni ("they will dance"), or Tíkivĕni ("they will dance"), or Píkamnovi ("they eat *píkami*") [1]

For a sixteen-day ceremony the calendar is as follows, the two preliminary days being understood·

1. Sŭs-tala
2. Lŏs-tala
3. País-tala
4. Nalŏs-tala } Tíṇava nalŏs-tala ("announcement four-days")
5. Sŭs-tala
6. Lŏs-tala
7. País-tala
8. Yŭṇya } Apiyuṇwĭsni ("from then to assembly")
9. Sŭs-tala
10. Lŏs-tala, or Naás-komók-totókya, or Ás-komók-totókya (*na*, reciprocal pronoun; *ási*, to wash the head)
11. País-tala, or Naás-totókya, or Ás-totókya
12. Nalŏs-tala, or Naásna
13. Sŭskahimŭ
14. Komók-totókya
15. Totókya
16. Tíhŭni, or Píkamnovi

Tsoófsuṇa, the Smoke (November 12, 1911)

Shortly after sunset there met in the house of Háni [2] the chiefs of the four fraternities: Háni, of the Tobacco clan, for Tŏ-wimi;

[1] The forms Tíhŭ, Tíkivĕĕ, Totókpĕ, and Komók-totókpĕ mean respectively "on Tíhŭni," "on Tíkivĕni," "on Totókya," and "on Komók-totókya."

[2] The Smoke must, or should, occur in a house of the Tobacco clan. Some time previous to the year 1911 the only house belonging to this clan was out of repair, and for two years the Smoke took place in the house of a woman of the Tansy-mustard clan, whose cousin (in the Hopi way, her son) was chief of Wŭwŭtsim-wimi and kept his fraternity *típoni* in this house.

Kávötima, of the Earth clan, for Wŭwûßim-wimi; Wŭnûtû, of the Reed clan, and Kótka, of the Bear clan, for Ál-wimi; and Saqístiwa, of the Cloud clan, for Qán-wimi; as well as Köyâwaima, chief of the Rattlesnake fraternity, who was acting for his uncle Hóṇyi, the Crier Chief.

Each man had a bag of native tobacco and a pipe, and after they had smoked, Háni made a *pŏ̂tavi*[1] by tying a long cotton string to a yellow feather. He then prepared some *naqáqŭsi* (feathers to which short strings are tied, and used for offerings when such can be tied to an object instead of being thrust into the ground, as the stick of a paho is used). The *pŏ̂tavi* and the *naqáqŭsi* he laid on a tray basket of meal, and then the other chiefs made *naqáqŭsi*, which they placed on the same basket of meal. This tray was then passed from one to another, beginning with Háni, and each man in turn, holding the strings of the *naqáqŭsi*, prayed silently. When this was finished, each chief took a small handful of meal from the basket and went out, and on the way to his home cast it away at some point, wherever he wished, over the edge of the mesa, uttering a silent prayer for good fortune.[2] The Crier Chief took the offerings with him.

Tíṇava, the Announcement (November 13)

At sunrise the Crier Chief stretched the string of the *pŏ̂tavi* across the trail at the narrowest part of the mesa, between Walpi and Sichomovi, and sprinkled meal along the string. It remained there throughout the ceremony, and after. As the long string of the *pŏ̂tavi* represents long life, it is stretched across the path where most of the people will many times cross it during the ceremony, in order that it may impart to them its sacred influence. The Crier Chief then took the *naqáqŭsi* to the roof of a house of the Rattlesnake clan near the rock[3] in the plaza, and there deposited them as prayers to the spirits of the six world-regions.

It was here that Fewkes observed the Smoke. Háni's house has since been repaired, but is uninhabited. It stands east of Móṇ-kiva and next to Wiqálvi. Any fraternity chief may attend the Smoke of any other fraternity. The Tobacco clan chief should always be present, and the Crier Chief necessarily attends because he must make the announcement.

[1] See pages 6, 148.

[2] The meal used for religious offerings is in no way different from the meal prepared for food. It must however be made of white corn, and must not be parched. It is not ceremonially prepared. A woman simply grinds some white corn, and those of the household who wish it take a small portion for prayer meal, the remainder becoming bread or mush As the priests explain it, the ear of corn is itself sacred, having been given originally by the supernaturals.

[3] This rock, known to white people as the Snake rock, because the public part of the Snake ceremony is held there, is called Tŭqi ("mountain").

A little after sunrise the Crier Chief from this housetop called out the following announcement of the ceremony:

Pâṇkaż kyż ûmmaa sínomū taláhoyá . . . . ! Ûmma-pâ pżo-inûmi
Around I suppose ye people have awakened! Ye to to me
tûkaívantotané . . . !
listen!

Pâûyan táhîltekat żpni kâżyan nánal tâlat żpyan Wûwûßimtŭ wimi kûkûwani . . . !
Now daylight at from eighth day on Wûwûßimtŭ fraternity will finish!

Óvi ûmmaa pâṇkaż sínomū ka nánami hin ûnáṇwa-kyakyaṇ[1] *ôhoyóyûkâni.*
So ye around people not toward one another heart (adverbial suffix) will go toward it.

Náphakawat qáqat ûnáṇwa tákat, áßivi kaás'at tala híyaní . . .
Any one of you good heart having, by his effort before day we will drink!

Pákûsnûßavahî tıyó-hoya, maná-hoya, wûhti-háskû, ûnáṇpakiyat-áqa żpż
If there be any such boy-small girl-small woman-old, by his heart with then
híyaní . . . !
we will drink!

Óvi ûmmaa páṇkaż sínomū halaíkyakyaṇ ôhoyótaní . . . ! Paíyaní . . . .![2]
So ye around people happily go toward it! So be it!

"Ye people about me have awakened, I suppose. Listen to me. Now on the eighth day from tomorrow's daylight the Wûwûtsimtŭ fraternity will complete its ceremony. So ye people around me will go toward it without ill feeling toward one another. If any one of you have a good heart, by his efforts we will drink before daylight. If there be any such boy, girl, or old woman, by his goodness of heart we will then drink. So, ye people about me, go happily toward it. So be it."

Sûs-tala, First Day (November 14)
Lŏs-tala, Second Day (November 15)
País-tala, Third Day (November 16)

Nothing of a ceremonial nature occurred on these days; they were in fact like any secular days.

In the sixteen-day rite, in which new members are initiated, seven idle days pass before Yûṇya is reached.

Yûṇya, Fourth Day (November 17)[3]

The four fraternities assembled in their respective kivas, the roofs of which were covered with orderly fagots, principally of greasewood,

[1] In the ordinary conversational order the phrase *ka nánami hin ûnáṇwa-kyakyaṇ* would be *kahîn ûnáṇwa-kyakyaṇ nánami*.

[2] This is the formula used in announcing nearly all ceremonies, with necessary changes for the time of the ceremony and the name of the fraternity having it in charge.

[3] The eighth day in the initiation ceremony.

brought in by the younger members during the preceding days of the ceremony. Not all the members assembled at this time, and in fact it was not until the last day of the ceremony that they came out in full force. Formerly it was the rule that all should be present from Yŭṇya on, except that men with wives about to deliver children were not permitted to be present on this day, when the new fire is kindled. Should such a man be present, the child would be born covered with red sores. Even today, in the initiation ceremony all members are expected to assemble on Yŭṇya. Once having entered the kiva, whether on Yŭṇya or on any succeeding day, a man must be present on each day and each night following; and he must practise continence until the end of the rites. There is little done in the kivas during the daytime; those present sit about, smoking and talking, and all who have begun their attendance on the ceremony take their meals there, though they spend most of the day in the village and at home. At night they sit up as late as possible, smoking, as a form of vigil and sacrifice for the bringing of good crops.

At noon in each of three kivas a bowl of medicine-water was prepared. The water for this purpose is obtained from Tawá-pa, a large spring near Walpi. On a low, square mound of sand was placed the bowl (*ṇá-kûyi*, medicine water-jar), the edge of which, at four diametrically opposite points, rises in a terraced design representing cumulus clouds. About it lay six ears of corn, corresponding in color to the colors associated with the six world-regions; the ears representing the cardinal points being severally at the middle of the four sides, while the one for the zenith lay between the north and the west ears, the one for the nadir between those of the south and the east. These typify not only the corn which it is hoped will be harvested next year, but the variously colored clouds for which the priesthoods constantly ask in prayer and offering. Beside each ear of corn lay beads of turquoise, of coral, and of small blue Olivella shells, and meal was sprinkled about the whole arrangement. Various powdered herbs were placed in the water, and the resultant medicine-water, which remained in the bowl until the end of the ceremony,[1] was used in frequently asperging to the six world-regions. During the public dances of the Wŭwûsimtŭ and the Tátôkyamŭ, both at Ál-kiva and Qán-kiva a Badger man came up on the roof with the medicine-bowl and asperged the dancers as they passed. Six songs, one for each world-region, and all supplicating for rain, were sung while the medicine-water was being mixed and stirred.

[1] In Qán-kiva a new mixture is prepared on the seventh day.

While the other fraternities made their medicine-water at noon, the Tátôkyamŭ in Mŏn-kiva made theirs at sunrise; and the only symbols on the mound of sand supporting their medicine-bowl were six radiating lines of meal. The Tŏ-wimi procure their sacred water from the spring Tötôvi, near the ruin of Awatobi, to which place one of their members is sent on foot on the day before Yŭnya. This was the only spring retained by Tapólo, the Awatobi chief, when he gave up his land and springs to the people of Walpi for their assistance in destroying the inhabitants of Awatobi.

About sunset (five o'clock), the Tátôkyamŭ being already assembled in Mŏn-kiva, the Qáqantŭ, Áahltŭ, and Wŭwûtsimtŭ approached, single file and led by their respective chiefs. As each group reached the hatchway, each man threw down into the kiva a ball of meal, thus announcing his arrival. In the order named they entered and took their places in their several corners. In the procession of the Qáqantŭ the second man carried a slab of stone with three circular holes drilled into it. This was their fire-stone. The second man of the Áahltŭ carried their fire-board, a long slab of wood with circular holes drilled along each lateral edge.

When all had assembled, two Qáqantŭ held the fire-stone on the floor with a bunch of shredded juniper-bark under it, and two others grasped the fire-drill. On the opposite side of the fireplace two Áahltŭ knelt with their fire-board, and two with the drill. All the others rose, and the Tŏ-wimi chief prayed briefly. Then each chief addressed his fellows, exhorting them to have a fixed and single purpose and good hearts, and to think only of the end for which the rites were being held. "Now go to it gladly," they concluded, and amid a chorus of "*Anchaai!*" (an expression of approval) the drillers whirled their spindles vigorously, while the Tátôkyamŭ and the Wŭwûtsimtŭ sang, the other two fraternities accompanying the songs with bells and rattles. Everybody watched the drillers intently, for if the spark is slow in making its appearance, there is sorrow, since they believe that the growing season will be delayed. The two drillers in each pair relieved each other at very brief intervals, and smoke quickly appeared, and then sparks, which were caught on the bark fibre. Then the bark was carried to the fireplace, where it ignited a pile of greasewood, and the singing ceased. An Álosaka, an Ál-wimi member wearing a horn head-dress, lighted a roll of bark and thus carried fire to the other three kivas.

One after another the chiefs of the respective societies rose, and, standing beside the fire with a tray basket containing a number of

pine-needles fastened to short strings, each one prayed, and dropped one by one, six of these offerings into the fire, one for each world-region. At one side of the room the chief of the Qâqantŭ had been sitting concealed by a black robe held up by two of his men. He represented the spirit of fire. After the other five chiefs (the Áahl̄tŭ have two chiefs), the man behind the blanket uttered a prayer, to which all responded, "*Anchaaí!*"

After the kindling of the new fire, three fraternities left the kiva and proceeded in a ceremonious procession — Áahl̄tŭ followed by Tâtôkyamŭ and Wŭwûs̱imtŭ — down the trail at the southern end of the mesa to the shrine of Tûwá-poṇ-tûmsi [1] (who is called also Tíhkûyi), at the foot of the steps leading down from the mesa to the terrace. After depositing offerings and uttering prayers, they proceeded along the trail to the shrine of Naná-mana on the north side of the ruin of Kisakobi (Old Walpi), to plant pahos and offer meal to this deity. They now retraced their steps for a short distance and then diverged to the ruin Kuchaptuvela, where, after marching four times around in a large circle, they offered feathers and scattered meal to all the various spirits. This place, though a shrine, bears no special name as such, and the feathers were given to various supernaturals, while prayers for good health and good crops were murmured.[2]

Returning to the village, the procession paused on a high bluff, and one of the Wŭwûs̱imtŭ said, "*Taaí* ['go ahead']." Another addressed the Áahltŭ, "Well, how are your friends?" The reference was to the women of the Mazŏ-wimi. Then one of the Áahl̄tŭ replied, "They are all right, only they are lazy and dirty." For a few minutes the Áahltŭ were plied with questions by the others, and in their replies they uttered obscene witticisms at the expense of these women. The air was filled with laughter. This is the only occasion when

[1] Fewkes mentions "Muiyunwû-wüqti, the goddess of germs," as the spirit presiding over this shrine. Apparently there is confusion here with Mŭiṇwa, a god of germination with no particular shrine.

[2] Fewkes says that at this place prayers were addressed and *naqáqŭsi* offered to the spirits of the Hopi who used to live in this ancient village. The statement is very explicit and positive, and apparently it is made on his own authority as an observer, and not on that of an informant. It would appear not improbable that, since there is no shrine of a specific deity at this place, the offerings might be intended for the spirits of those who once lived here. All informants questioned on this point, however, declared with great positiveness that prayers are never addressed and pahos never given to the spirits of ancestors. In the winter solstice ceremony a paho is made for each deceased member of the family, but such offerings are simply for the use of the recently dead in the spirit world. Neither in the investigation of the present ceremony, nor in any later discussions, was any trace of ancestor worship discovered, unless the Kachina cult is such.

the Áaⁿltŭ joke at the expense of the Mazó-wimi women, but in the following days the other two fraternities took their turn.

The procession returned to the mesa, and near the hatchway of Móṇ-kiva they stopped, and the Wŭwûsimtŭ sang four songs for good crops, while the others stood silent. The Qáqantŭ were still in Móṇ-kiva. At the conclusion of the songs the Wŭwûsimtŭ and the Áaⁿltŭ went to their respective kivas, while the Tátôkyamŭ withdrew a short distance to permit the Qáqantŭ to come up and go to their own kiva, after which the Tátôkyamŭ descended the ladder into Móṇ-kiva. From each kiva certain members now went to their homes for watermelons, while the chief of each fraternity brought from his home a tray basket of *tósi* (meal made of parched sweet-corn), which the members ate uncooked, a bit of meal alternating with a handful of melon. Finally they mixed meal with the juice that remained in the empty rinds, and ate the paste, in this act thinking of themselves as children receiving nourishment from a mother.

Yŭṇya in the Initiation Ceremony, Eighth Day

After the new fire has been kindled and distributed among the other kivas, the initiates, except those of Qán-wimi, are brought to Móṇ-kiva by their ceremonial fathers, who of course are always members of the same fraternities which their respective charges are to join. The novitiates are from twelve to fifteen years of age. They remain in Móṇ-kiva during the rest of the evening's rites and are then led back to their respective kivas, only the Tŏ-wimi novitiates remaining in Móṇ-kiva.

When the ceremony includes the initiation of new members into the fraternities, there enters into the rites the image of Tála-tûmsi ("dawn clanswoman"). This is a rude wooden figurine, about two feet high and ten inches thick, with only the head delineated. On the evening of Yŭṇya a member of Ál-wimi, personating the mythic character Álosaka,[1] goes down to the shrine of Tála-tûmsi, which is behind a large bowlder near the eastern foot of the mesa, just below Walpi; and when he judges that all the members have assembled in Móṇ-kiva, he takes up the image, brings it to Móṇ-kiva, and sets it on the roof at the edge of the hatchway. At this moment the drilling for new fire begins, and there the image remains until after the three fraternities have returned from their pilgrimage to the three shrines, as previously described; at which time it is removed to the roof of Qán-kiva.

[1] See page 116.

After Orion has appeared above the horizon, the Tátôkyamŭ begin to sing in Mŏṇ-kiva, and when the constellation is about one hour high they go in a body to Qán-kiva, and standing in the street they sing from thirty to thirty-five songs for rain and good crops. The songs are short, but in the aggregate they occupy a considerable part of the night. It is from this act that the fraternity derives its name, which means "those that sing." As soon as the singing begins, the Álosaka who brought the image of Tála-tûmsi from the shrine dons his costume, emerges from Ál-kiva, carries the image to Qán-kiva, and deposits it at the hatchway. He remains with the singers, standing behind them as a guard. Then the Qáqantŭ chief climbs the ladder and gives a lighted cornhusk cigarette of native tobacco to the Tátôkyamŭ chief, who puffs it four times and then tucks it inside the small, ceremonial robe in which the figurine of the goddess is wrapped. Soon he receives from the Qáqantŭ chief tobacco in a large clay pipe, the bowl and the stem being of one piece and the hole about two inches in diameter and four inches deep. This is passed from one to another of the Tátôkyamŭ as they sing, and if it is not smoked out by the time their singing is finished, they must take it to their kiva and finish it. It is then returned on the next day to Qán-kiva. While most of the songs on this occasion are hymns for rain and crops, one of them refers to the Qáqantŭ initiates, who, contrary to the custom of the other societies, in which the initiates take part in the dances, must sit constantly during the next three days and most of the remaining nights with their knees drawn close up under the chin. When this song begins, the Qáqantŭ initiates come up the ladder to urinate at a shrine on the eastern edge of the mesa near the south end of Sichomovi, where also their legs are rubbed by the Qáqantŭ in order to relieve the stiffness caused by constantly sitting in one position.

The Qán-wimi, it should be remembered, were a later addition to the personnel of this ceremony. It is probable that this carrying of the image of Tála-tûmsi to Qán-kiva and the singing of the Tátôkyamŭ around the same kiva were originally acts of welcome to the new priesthood. It is significant that these things are done only when new members are being admitted.

Sŭs-tala in the Initiation Ceremony, Ninth Day

Each morning of the three days following Yŭṇya, an Álosaka, stripped to the loin-cloth, leads the naked novitiates, except those of Qán-wimi, to Tawá-pa spring, moving very deliberately in spite

of the bitterly cold north wind that may be blowing. Another Álosaka guard brings up the rear. At the spring the two grasp the arms of each novitiate in turn and plunge him four times into the water, completely submerging him. Those who are first plunged in must stand and watch the others, and frequently icicles form on the dripping hair. On the return the leading Álosaka subjects them to many pranks, compelling them to stand and toss pebbles at a mark, or leap from one rock to another, like mountain-sheep, which the Álosaka represents. Each Álosaka carries a gourd, which at the spring is filled with water; and halfway back to the village they pour the contents over the shivering boys and despatch two of them back to the spring for a fresh supply. In their absence all must stand still and wait. At the edge of the village the two gourds are emptied over the boys before they are permitted to go into the kiva. If the ground happens to be covered with snow the visit to the spring is omitted, and the two Álosaka guards assemble the boys with the cheering information, "We will now have a bath in that nice warm snow." All descend to the valley and roll naked in the snow. After the return to the village and their respective kivas, the novitiates of Wűwûtsim-wimi, Ál-wimi, and Tŏ-wimi accompany the Tátôkyamŭ about the village, singing and dancing. Bathing in the spring or in the snow is repeated on the four following days.

Morning and evening the ceremonial father brings his child cooked food containing neither salt nor meat, and at noon an ear of parched corn. At night the novices of Ál-wimi and Wűwûtsim-wimi are taken to Mŏn-kiva, whence, with those of Tŏ-wimi, they accompany the Tátôkyamŭ, who now repeat their songs at Qân-kiva, with an Álosaka standing guard behind the singers. During the singing the ceremonial father holds his arms about his child, like a protecting parent. With the exceptions here named, the novitiates spend the day in their kivas, where they sit with knees drawn up to the chin.

Lŏs-tala, or Naás-komók-totókya, in the Initiation Ceremony, Tenth Day

This day does not differ from its predecessor.

País-tala, or Naás-totókya, in the Initiation Ceremony, Eleventh Day

On the morning of the eleventh day in the initiation ceremony the initiates of Wűwûtsim-wimi, Tŏ-wimi, and Ál-wimi form in single file, and, led by one Álosaka and followed by another, and accom-

panied by some of the older members, they go dancing through the village and down the Pŏfsi [1] trail. Once in the valley, the Álosaka men draw a line in the sand, stand the novitiates on it, and instruct them that when they shall see the Álosaka men at a certain place (usually across the arroyo), they shall run to overtake them. So begins a race that ends at Sûs-tavaṇ-tûqi ("first western mountain"), the westernmost of the Hopi buttes, about twenty-five miles distant.[2] There they gather soapweed to be used in the head-washing on the following day, and with it return running to the village, through which each straggling group dances its way to the kiva. In former times the Apache, knowing this custom, sometimes lay in wait and killed the runners, who of course were unarmed; and the practice of carrying weapons, then begun, is still in force long after the necessity ceased. On the morning of this day all the trails, except one on the east for the use of live stock, are closed by lines of meal across them. The Pŏfsi trail however is open to the initiates, but after their return at about nine o'clock in the evening it too is closed. The trails are not opened until the following morning. In former times, it is said, any one crossing a closed trail would have been put to death.[3] The Qán-wimi novitiates spend this day, like the two preceding ones, in their kiva.

The three fraternities pass the night of this eleventh day in Móṇ-kiva. Soon after their assembling, a member of Ál-wimi goes to Qán-kiva and draws a line of meal about the hatchway, thus closing this kiva and confining the Qâqantŭ therein. Then begins in Móṇ-kiva a period of singing, which continues until about two in the morning, when the head-washing occurs. The novitiates of the three fraternities seat themselves in a circle, and each ceremonial father, taking his place behind his son with a bowl of water in which yucca-root has been mixed, washes the boy's head and bestows upon him a name, saying, "This will be your name through a long life." Then each member of the three fraternities passes around the whole circle, rubbing the lathered hair of each novitiate and asking, "What is your name?" The boy replies, and the older member says, "Well, if your name is thus and so, may you bring it through a long life."

[1] *Pŏfsi*, a hard, wooden point used on reed arrows. The trail is so called because such points used to be found in a hole in the rocks along this path, shot there doubtless by hunters as an invocation before setting out on a hunt. This is the trail known to travellers as the Walpi trail, or, from a large rock at the convergence of two branches, the Split trail.

[2] This long course has not been taken for many years, though there are two middle-aged men at East mesa who used to cover it.

[3] See page 6 for the quarrel between Tovar's Spanish soldiers and the men of Awatobi, when one of the former attempted to cross such a barrier.

Then fresh suds are made and the older members wash one another's heads. The Wŭwŭtsimtŭ and the Áaĥltŭ, including the new members, return to their kivas, the proper individual of the latter society having first obliterated the line of meal about the hatchway of Qán-kiva. The Qáqantŭ, who have remained inactive in their kiva, are then free to come out to urinate, and one of their number ceremonially closes the other three kivas with lines of meal.[1]

Now begins the head-washing of the Qán-wimi novitiates, and when, at its conclusion, the lines about the hatchways of the other kivas are obliterated, the three fraternities go in a body to Qán-kiva and sing. It is now about dawn, and the three fraternities go to the eastern edge of the mesa, where in a certain place the novitiates deposit their body-scrapers. The Qáqantŭ novices however will deposit their scrapers at a rock below the mesa later in the morning, when the image of Tála-tùmsi is carried back to her shrine.

The novitiates are now full-fledged members. From now until the end of the next initiation ceremony four years later, each new member will be dressed for the dances by his ceremonial father, and in Ál-wimi, instead of the white curving deerskin horns worn by other members, the novice will wear horns made of long-necked gourds and painted with a pigment made by crushing a soft variety of turquois and mixing it with piñon-gum and water. After the next initiation he will make a pair of white horns.

Nalŏs-tala, or Naásna, of the Initiation Ceremony, Twelfth Day

At sunrise the Tátŏkyamŭ and Áahltŭ assemble at Qán-kiva, nine of the latter personating Álosaka. The Álosaka who brought up the image of Tála-tùmsi now takes it up and starts off through the plaza toward the Pótsi trail, followed successively by the Tŏ-wimi chief, the Ál-wimi chief, the Tátŏkyamŭ, and the Áahltŭ. In a separate body come the Qán-wimi chief, the Qáqantŭ novitiates, and the elder members. As the procession passes the kiva of the Wŭwŭtsimtŭ, that fraternity joins it, their chief falling in behind the Ál-wimi chief and the members behind the Áahltŭ. At the large rock in the trail the Qáqantŭ, leaving the others, move southward along a side trail, and passing down some steps to the terrace they

[1] Here again is seen the line of demarcation between the three fraternities from Awatobi and the Qán-wimi of southern origin. It may be assumed that when the latter were admitted to participation in the ceremony, the original three societies, by means of this ceremonial sealing of the kiva of the newcomers, kept them from approaching their Móṇ-kiva during the head-washing, and the Qáqantŭ then retaliated in kind.

come to a certain rock, where each novitiate deposits the wooden body-scraper which he has used in lieu of fingernails during his days of confinement. Pahos and meal are left with these objects. Meanwhile the other three fraternities have gone to the shrine of Tálatûmsi, and the Álosaka who bears the image takes it inside the rock wall that has been built up around the shrine. The Wŭwûčimtŭ now move up in front of the others and close around the wall, where they sing eight songs addressed to this deity for rain and good crops. In the meantime the break in the wall has been repaired, so that the figurine and niche are completely concealed, and finally each man sprinkles meal on the shrine as he silently passes. The procession forms in the original order and returns to the mesa, the Qáqantŭ falling in behind in a separate body as before.

During the day novitiates of Wŭwûčim-wimi, Tŏ-wimi, and Ál-wimi dance with the elder members; but the Qán-wimi novitiates remain in the kiva until the end of the ceremony, though they are no longer required to maintain their former cramped position.

Sŭskahimŭ, Fifth Day (November 18)[1]

The day was marked by the appearance of the Wuwûčimtŭ in a public dance shortly after sunrise. They formed at the kiva in two lines facing each other, the individuals being shoulder to shoulder. Their chief, at the end of one line, held the fraternity *náchi*, which is a bunch of sparrow-hawk feathers on the end of a short stick; his left was clasped in the right hand of the man next to him, and both of these hands were folded over an ear of corn with the fingers interlocked. All the Wŭwûčimtŭ had their hands clasped in this manner over ears of corn, and each man had another ear, his "mother," which is carefully kept as a sacred object. Their faces were smeared with white, and the tips of the separated fingers had been drawn downward zigzag, scraping off some of the white paint and leaving a line for each finger on each side of the face. A yellow band encircled each calf and each thigh, and there were similar bands on the arms and the chest. Loin-cloth and moccasins were the only garments, but a fox-skin hung behind from the girdle. Each line was preceded by an Álosaka and followed by one or more. These personators of Álosaka are the most recent initiates of the Áaĥltŭ, and they are distinguished by the slenderness of the fabricated horns they wear as a head-dress, and by the turquois-blue pigment with which the horns are covered. Between the two lines of Wŭwûčimtŭ

[1] Thirteenth day of the initiation ceremony.

walked their drummer, with a large drum consisting of an irregular hollow section of cottonwood log covered at both ends with deerskin. It was about thirty inches deep and eighteen to twenty-four in diameter.[1] The Áalosaktŭ (plural of Álosaka) and the Wŭwûfsimtŭ proceeded from the kiva northward along the east street, moving sidewise with rhythmical dance steps, and singing. Before certain houses belonging to women of the Mazŏ-wimi society they paused, dancing back and forth, still sidewise, and chanting taunts and making suggestive jokes in song at the expense of these women. Some of those thus taunted came running out, usually with laughter but sometimes with pretended anger, and dashed cold water or vessels of urine over the naked men. Some of the men could be seen to shrink and shiver in the cold morning air, others were quite indifferent. This custom is said to have arisen from the deliberate pouring of water over the heads of young initiates, who were thus made to typify young plants. If a woman should happen to throw water on an Álosaka, she would have to indemnify him. After passing through Walpi the dancers walked across the intervening space and then danced through Sichomovi, after which they returned to their kiva.

Sŭskahimŭ in the Initiation Ceremony, Thirteenth Day

In the sixteen-day performance the novitiates of Tŏ-wimi, Ál-wimi, and Wŭwûfsim-wimi assemble on Sŭskahimŭ day in Mŏn-kiva. At intervals throughout the day the Wŭwûfsimtŭ dance publicly in the manner previously described, being led and followed by Álosaka guards; and the novitiates, except those of Qán-wimi, emerge from Mŏn-kiva and dance at the same time, usually performing as clowns. On Sŭskahimŭ night and on the following two nights, the Qáqantŭ and the Áaĥltŭ, old and new members, except perhaps one or two old men who remain in the kiva to keep up the fire, run about the mesa to different shrines and leave offerings. On these occasions they carry cow-bells.

Komŏk-totókya, Sixth Day (November 19)[2]

Soon after sunrise the Wŭwûfsimtŭ appeared and danced through the villages as before. About nine o'clock in the evening (and this occurs also in the sixteen-day rites) the *tiáwaya* ("word bearer") of

[1] There is only one drum in Walpi, all the others having been disposed of to collectors. Since this was written this last drum was sold, with some secrecy, in 1919.

[2] Fourteenth day of the initiation ceremony.

the Al-wimi chief, a herald appointed by him for life, visited the other kivas in the following order: Mǫ̇n-kiva, Wiqálvi, and Qán-kiva. At each he went through the same form. Entering, he was invited by all to sit down, and after smoking in silence the pipe they gave him, he was addressed by the chief: "*Taaí* ['go ahead']. For what are you walking?" He answered: "*Owé* ['yes']. Tomorrow is the day we will work [make pahos] for our fathers in all directions. If anybody has ill feelings, let him put them away and work happily. That is why I am going around, in order to notify you of this. *Paiyáni* ['so be it']." The chief of the fraternity replied that this would be done, and all chorused assent, "*Anchaaí!*" When the "word bearer" departed, they returned to their planning for the next day. In Mǫ̇n-kiva the Tátôkyamŭ were making up their songs and the jibes they would hurl at the women. Having completed his rounds, the "word bearer" returned to Ál-kiva, where, after he had smoked, they asked, "How is it?" He reported what he had said to the fraternities, and what their chiefs had answered, and his fellows chorused, "*Anchaaí!*"

The Wŭwûtsimtŭ remained up all night, smoking and talking, because on the next day they were to dance; but in the other kivas the men retired when Orion was near the zenith.

Komók-totókya in the Initiation Ceremony, Fourteenth Day

The Wŭwûtsimtŭ appear once in the morning and once in the evening, and they are accompanied by the novitiates of their own fraternity and of Tŏ-wimi, who perform as clowns, and by Álosaka guards. The Ál-wimi noviates however do not appear.

On this day the members of the three Awatobi fraternities are led by an Álosaka into the valley at the south end of the mesa, another Álosaka following the procession; and near the spring Aṇápöl-va ("short-hair spring") each fraternity builds a little cell of stones, in which the members place their "mothers," the ears of corn carried in the dances. This done, an Álosaka draws a line of meal, sets up his *mǫ́n-kuh*, or *mǫ́n-kohu* ("chief stick"),[1] a short distance away, and, arranging the novitiates along the line, he bids them throw their rabbit-sticks at it; for if any one strikes it, he will surely kill a rabbit. This is all in fun, and merely a method of badgering the novitiates. As this is called Komók-totókya ("wood-gathering Totókya"), the purpose of the expedition into the valley is to obtain fuel for the kivas; but at a certain place, as they proceed, the Álosaka bids a

[1] A flat stick about eighteen inches long, whitened with gypsum, used as a badge of office.

novitiate call out the invitation, or challenge, to hunt rabbits. The hunt being thus ostensibly unpremeditated, no pahos have been prepared, and there is none of the usual ceremony before the circle is formed and the drive begun. There is much rivalry among the fraternities. After the hunt they return to the starting point, and early in the afternoon they roast some of the rabbits, and feast, after which each one gathers a fagot of wood, ropes it, and places it on his back. The two Álosaka guards, however, after the novitiates have loaded themselves, distribute their own burdens among them, and then fold up their blankets, rope them like bundles of wood, and carry them on their backs like heavy loads. Arriving on the mesa the novitiates begin to quarrel and fight among themselves for possession of the game, and the women of Mazó-wimi stand by and jeer at the novices of Wúwûʧim-wimi and Tó-wimi. This ends in their giving all the rabbits to the Ál-wimi novitiates, who carry them to Ál-kiva.

At night the messenger of the Ál-wimi chief visits the other kivas, as previously described.

Totókya, Seventh Day (November 20) [1]

About noon an altar was prepared in each of the four kivas by the respective chiefs of the fraternities. The altar in Ál-kiva was begun by spreading a layer of sand on the floor over a space about four by three feet. On it were placed in a row four small, equidistant mounds of sand, and cloud symbols were drawn on the sand by means of meal. The ears of corn, the "mothers" of the members, were placed in three piles between the mounds, and the two *típoni* were severally set upright in the two middle mounds.[2]

In the sand mound at each end of the row was thrust a *saqá-vaho*

[1] Fifteenth day in the initiation ceremony.

[2] A *típoni* is made by placing a heavy wrapping of cotton string about the quill ends of a bunch of long, white, downy feathers of an eagle. (But the Snake Chief's *típoni* has black wing-feathers.) Among the quills and within the cotton wrapping are feathers plucked from many species of birds, and seeds of all kinds of plants that furnish food. Every fraternity chief has his *típoni*, and practically all are alike. They are addressed as "grandmother," and represent the same idea as the Zuñi *ʔttonnaʔ*. Each *típoni* remains secreted in a certain house of the clan to which the fraternity chief belongs, and never is taken to the house in which he lives. Nor is it ever touched except at the prescribed ceremonial times. Two *típoni* appear in the Ál-wimi altar, because in this fraternity there are two chiefs, Ál-moṇwi ("horn chief") and Saqá-al-moṇwi ("blue horn chief"); and the membership consists of two groups, Saqá-áahlṭû ("blue horns") and Kóßá-áahlṭû ("white horns"), each of which has its half of the kiva. New members wear head-dresses, the horns of which are coated with turquois-blue paint; but this fact apparently has nothing to do with the dividing line, for when the next class of initiates is received their predecessors separate and are divided among the Blue Horns and the White Horns.

SPECTATORS AT THE SNAKE DANCE

Spectators at the Snake Dance

("blue paho"), a paho with a double shaft painted blue to represent the prayer for green crops.[1] One was for Tâla-tûmsi, the other for Qiniiṇyak-moṇwi ("north chief"). In the mounds were now set many small sticks to which were attached the *naqáqŭsi* made by the members.

Similar altars were prepared in the other three kivas, but as the other fraternities have only one chief each, their altars had but three mounds and one *tiponi*. On the Tŏ-wimi altar was a *saqá-vaho* for Tâla-tûmsi and one for Távaṇ-moṇwi ("west chief"). The Wŭwûfsim-wimi had one for Tâla-tûmsi and one for Tátkyak-moṇwi ("south chief"), the Qán-wimi one for Tâla-tûmsi, one for Hópak-moṇwi ("east chief"), and a third for Átkyak-moṇwi ("nadir chief"). No *saqá-vaho* is made for Óvĕ-moṇwi ("zenith chief"), because, it is said, all the *naqáqŭsi* are intended for all the divine spirits, including this one, as well as for those to whom they are specifically offered. At this time, and so in all ceremonies, pahos are made for Tûvíp-haiyaṇû ("whirlwind"), whose shrine is at the south end of the terrace of Old Walpi, and for Másôŭ, whose shrine is on the slope of the mesa northwest of the Gap. The pahos for these deities are not necessarily placed at the shrines, but may be deposited anywhere in the vicinity of them. All these prayer-feathers were to be placed in the shrines and in the valleys the following morning.

At noon a new mixture of medicine-water was prepared in Qán-kiva.

At intervals throughout Totókya day the Wŭwûfsimtŭ passed through Walpi and Sichomovi in the dance previously described; and after their last appearance, at about four o'clock, the Tâtôkyamŭ appeared in the open space about Móṇ-kiva. Their bodies and faces were yellow, and red stripes extended from eyes to ears and from the corners of the mouth across the cheeks; while the hair, interwoven with cornhusks, was tied in a bunch which projected out over the forehead. Some had a phallus painted on the back, chest, legs, and arms; and all, or nearly all, carried, impaled on the ends of short sticks, large pieces of watermelon rind so cut as to suggest the vulva. Accompanied by a drummer and followed by an Álosaka guard, they danced and sang near Móṇ-kiva and then proceeded, singing, to the plaza, where they stopped in front of various houses, principally, but not exclusively, those occupied by women of Mazŏ-wimi, and sang and danced. Continuing this performance, they moved along the east street and around through

[1] Blue and the green of vegetation are not differentiated.

the west street. The songs were obscene, consisting of slurs on the chastity of the women addressed and of challenges to come down from the housetops to the men. Suggestive movements accompanied the songs. Some of the women ignored the singers, others threw cold water or urine upon them, laughing the while, and still others became genuinely angry and heaped abuse upon them while throwing water. One woman hurled a pot at them and followed it with a stone, but it appeared that she did not really try to make her missiles effective.

After each public dance of the Wûwûtsimtû there went through the village two men each of Qân-wimi, Ál-wimi, and Tó-wimi, carrying basket trays and begging for meal. These were some of the members most recently initiated. In pairs they stopped at each house and waited silently at the door or at the foot of the ladder until some woman of the household came out and dropped a handful of meal into each basket. After completing the rounds, the beggars returned to their kivas. All the meal was later sent to Ál-kiva.

After the last appearance of the Wûwûtsimtû, women came flocking to the four kivas with great piles of piki in baskets wrapped in cloths, and vessels containing stews and *pakami*. Every household in the three villages sent at least one female representative, and the quantities of food they brought were enormous. A bit from each dish and basket was laid aside near the fireplace, and on this heap the chief placed four *nakwákwosi*,[1] some meal, and tobacco. Then from each kiva a man who was empowered to personate Másôû took these offerings to the deity and cast them over the western cliffs.

About ten o'clock on Totókya night the Wûwûtsimtû came into Món-kiva, and after dancing and singing for a short time, they left, one by one. About midnight this was repeated. When Orion was at the zenith, the Tátókyamû began their songs, and two personators of Álosaka descended and took their stations at opposite sides of the ladder. Each had a large gourd full of water, so that if any singer became too sleepy an Álosaka might wake him by pouring water on his head. The songs continued until dawn.

After the Wûwûtsimtû returned to their kiva from the midnight dance in Món-kiva, the Áshlûtû came to them in a body and informed them that, having worked hard during the day, they might now go to sleep. All the other fraternities, however, passed the night in singing. In Ál-kiva and Qân-kiva the singing began when Orion

[1] In Qân-kiva each member makes a *nakwákwosi* for this purpose.

A Snake Priest

A Snake Priest

was at the zenith. Each of these kivas had a watchman stationed on the roof to warn off the curious, but the others had their sentinels below within the chamber.

Totókya in the Initiation Ceremony, Fifteenth Day

The rites of the initiation ceremony on Totókya day do not greatly differ from those of the corresponding day in the shorter form of the ceremony. Before sunrise the Qáqantŭ send to Ál-kiva the pahos they made on the previous day, and soon six personators of Álosaka emerge from Ál-kiva with these pahos and with those made by their own fraternity, and carrying large baskets of the meal collected on the previous day by the beggars. The six go to Qán-kiva and throw meal down into it, a symbolic gift of food from the gods in return for the pahos of the Qáqantŭ, and proceed to Wiqálvi and to Móṇ-kiva, at each place receiving pahos. As they go from place to place, each one scatters a broad trail of meal. Two carry pahos to the shrine of Tála-tûmsi, two to the shrine of Táwa ("sun") at Tawá-pa ("sun spring"), and two to the shrine of the Nalónaṇŭ-moṇwitŭ ("four chiefs") near the painted rocks in the vicinity of the Gap.

Tíhŭni, Eighth Day (November 21) [1]

At sunrise, in each of the four kivas each member placed in a large piece of watermelon rind ashes from the sacred fire, which had been constantly burning in the kiva since it was kindled on Yŭṇya night. As this fire is sacred, it must not be profaned by common use, as for lighting cigarettes. Matches are now used for such purposes, but formerly smokers went outside for fire. In each kiva the fire-keeper took up the *naqáqŭsi* which throughout the ceremony had been beside the sacred fire, and laid it on the ashes in his melon rind. Then, with the ashes and half-burned embers, the fraternities left their kivas, the Qáqantŭ going to the end of the mesa overlooking the ruin Kisakobi (Old Walpi), while the other three societies proceeded along the trail toward Sichomovi to a point at the edge of the cliff. At these places each man sprinkled a little sacred meal on the ashes as an offering to the spirit of fire, and then, after vomiting on the ashes, tossed the rind over the cliff and addressed to the rising sun a prayer for long life.

In each kiva after the return from the cliff a man of the Badger clan sprinkled on a buzzard-feather some ashes from an ordinary

[1] Sixteenth day of the initiation ceremony.

outside fire, and in a low tone sang four songs while waving the feather over his companions, who sat about him. At the end of each song he cast the ashes from the feather. This performance, like the vomiting at the cliff, is intended to rid the members of the influence of the spirit of fire: having breathed the hot air of the kiva, where the sacred fire burns, they think it well thus to purify themselves. A Badger man is selected for this duty, as well as for asperging with medicine-water, because the badger is believed to have special knowledge of medicinal roots and herbs, derived from his habit of digging.

The night of Tíhŭni and the three following nights were spent by the chiefs of the fraternities in their respective kivas, in order that they might maintain the prayerful state of mind in which the pahos had been prepared and offered, and thus make sure of obtaining an answer to their petitions. This continuation of their vigil is not, as some have supposed, for the purpose of making the number of days in the kiva the same as in the longer form of the ceremony, because even in the sixteen-day rites the same practice is observed.

It used to be the rule that shortly after the close of the ceremony each fraternity should engage in a ceremonial rabbit hunt (*kivámákiwa*), but this was not done in 1911. The rabbits obtained in such hunts were brought into the kivas and eaten with the piki remaining from the Totókya feast.

Wŭwûtsimû is a most solemn and a most important ceremony, inaugurating a new year. Nothing must be left undone to propitiate the supernatural powers, which can send an early summer and bountiful crops, or a late summer and meagre harvests; and during the rites every mind is supposed to think solely and strenuously of the desired end.

The purpose of the ceremony is of course to bring warm weather with plentiful showers and abundant crops. As the new fire with its consequent warmth is created by natural means, that is, by two pieces of wood, or by a piece of wood and a slab of stone, one of which is regarded as the mother and the other as the father and the resultant fire as their offspring, so they hope and pray that warm weather will be granted by the beings who are supplicated.

Másôŭ, say the old men of Walpi, is the principal deity worshipped in this or in any other Hopi ceremony; but the statement is scarcely in harmony with what we know of the ritual, in which Tála-tûmsi ("dawn clanswoman") certainly plays the most promi-

From Copyright Photograph 1921 by E. S. Curtis

WALPI SNAKE CHIEF

WALPI SNAKE CHIEF

nent part. A logical explanation is that the Tála-tûmsi cultus probably came from Awatobi with the ceremony itself, while Másôû, as we know, is a local deity, for whom as such the Walpi people have inherited such a feeling that without conscious error they assign him the first rank.

A quotation from Prescott will show an interesting and suggestive parallel in Aztec life.

"I shall conclude the account of Mexican science with that of a remarkable festival, celebrated by the natives at the termination of the great cycle of fifty-two years. We have seen . . . their tradition of the destruction of the world at four successive epochs. They looked forward confidently to another such catastrophe, to take place, like the preceding, at the close of a cycle, when the sun was to be effaced from the heavens, the human race from the earth, and when the darkness of chaos was to settle on the habitable globe. The cycle would end in the latter part of December, and as the dreary season of the winter solstice approached, and the diminished light of day gave melancholy presage of its speedy extinction, their apprehensions increased; and on the arrival of the five 'unlucky' days which closed the year they abandoned themselves to despair. They broke in pieces the little images of their household gods, in whom they no longer trusted. The holy fires were suffered to go out in the temples, and none were lighted in their own dwellings. Their furniture and domestic utensils were destroyed; their garments torn in pieces; and everything was thrown into disorder, for the coming of the evil genii who were to descend on the desolate earth. On the evening of the last day, a procession of priests, assuming the dress and ornaments of their gods, moved from the capital towards a lofty mountain, about two leagues distant. They carried with them a noble victim, the flower of their captives, and an apparatus for kindling the *new fire*, the success of which was an augury of the renewal of the cycle. On reaching the summit of the mountain, the procession paused till midnight; when, as the constellation of the Pleiades approached the zenith, the *new fire* was kindled by the friction of the sticks placed on the wounded breast of the victim. The flame was soon communicated to a funeral pile, on which the body of the slaughtered captive was thrown. As the light streamed up towards heaven, shouts of joy and triumph burst forth from the countless multitudes who covered the hills, the terraces of the temples, and the house-tops, with eyes anxiously bent on the mount of sacrifice. Couriers, with torches lighted at the blazing beacon, rapidly bore them over every part of the country; and the cheering element was seen brightening on altar and hearth-stone, for the circuit of many a league, long before the sun, rising on his accustomed track, gave assurance that a new cycle had commenced its march, and that the laws of nature were not to be reversed for the Aztecs. The following

thirteen days were given up to festivity. The houses were cleansed and whitened. The broken vessels were replaced by new ones. The people, dressed in their gayest apparel, and crowned with garlands and chaplets of flowers, thronged in joyous procession to offer up their oblations and thanksgivings in the temples. Dances and games were instituted, emblematical of the regeneration of the world. It was the carnival of the Aztecs; or rather the national jubilee, the great secular festival, like that of the Romans, or ancient Etruscans, which few alive had witnessed before, or could expect to see again." [1]

The period of rejoicing over the beginning of a new era is represented in Hopi ritual by the winter solstice ceremony.

Soyálaṇû, The Winter Solstice Ceremony

In those seasons immediately following a celebration of the sixteen-day form of the new fire ceremony, when new members are initiated into the four fraternities, Soyálaṇû is announced as a sixteen-day rite; that is, the announcement takes place on the sixteenth day before the final day of the ceremony. The rites in the longer and the shorter form are exactly alike, the only difference being that in the longer form there are twelve idle days intervening between the announcement and Yŭṇya, and four in the shorter.

On the evening of December 12, 1911, the Soyál-ʃsoóʃsuṇa ("Soyál smoke") was held as usual in the house of Vênsi, a woman of the Cloud clan. This is the principal house of the Cloud clan. Those present were Sŭpla, of the Cloud clan, the Soyál-moṇwi ("Soyál chief"); Chŭ'vĕ, another Cloud man; Tŭnoa, of the Horn clan, the Houses Chief; Sihtaima, of the Cloud clan, the Sun Priest; and Köyáwaima, of the Rattlesnake clan, the acting Crier Chief. Beginning with Sŭpla each man, after the usual smoke, made a brief speech, the burden of which was that in eight days they would make pahos, and all should go toward that time with good thoughts and with happiness.

On the following morning shortly after sunrise Köyáwaima made his announcement from the housetop in the usual formula.[2]

Sŭs-tala, First Day (December 14)
Lŏs-tala, Second Day (December 15)
Pais-tala, Third Day (December 16)
Nalŏs-tala, Fourth Day (December 17)

[1] Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, after Sahagun, Torquemada, Gama, Clavigero.
[2] See page 110.

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SIKYÁLËTSTIWA - SHIPAULOVI SNAKE CHIEF

SHIVWITSIPUTIWA - SHIPAULOVI SNAKE CHIEF

On these four days nothing of a ceremonial nature was done. Even the Sun Priest did nothing special, having already concluded his observations of the sun when he settled on the proper time for the announcement.

Yŭṇya, Fifth Day (December 18)

After the morning meal some of the men went into retirement in their respective kivas. Of the others, all except those whom necessity called away from the village, as, for instance, the shepherds, took their meals in the kivas, bringing cooked food from their homes. This and the next day are supposed to be spent in the kivas, in order that the men may be purified for the making of pahos on the seventh day. Nothing of a ceremonial nature occurred. Continence being compulsory, the night was spent in the kivas in story-telling and smoking. A part of the process of self-purification is to remain awake as late as possible.

Komók-totókya, Sixth Day (December 19)

Four young men of the Cloud clan, or sons of Cloud clansmen, were selected by the Sun Priest and sent out in the four cardinal directions. From north and south was brought wood for the use of all the kivas in making pahos; from the east were brought earth and sand for use in Móṇ-kiva. The fourth man, who went westward, merely made offerings in that direction, as did the others also in their quarters. They returned late in the afternoon. In the kivas the day and the night passed like the preceding.

Totókya, Seventh Day (December 20)

On the seventh day all the men, as well as the boys who had been initiated into the Kachina order and hence were members of a kiva organization, were present in the kivas to make pahos and *naqáqŭsi*. In the present instance there were few boys, because of the compulsory attendance of children at school, and a number of men were absent on herding duty. Each person made a *saqá-vaho* ("blue paho") for the Sun and a number of others to be distributed on the following day among his friends and relatives; a paho with a cross at the top for his sheep; and many *naqáqŭsi*, one to be tied to the mane or tail of each of his burros and others to be distributed in the afternoon among his friends and relatives. The *naqáqŭsi* made in this ceremony have two or three pine-needles attached as a symbol of strength, the pine being the strongest tree known to the

Hopi; for the purpose of the ceremony is to promote the general good and strength of the people as a whole. It is a time of much good feeling. The men sitting about in the kivas smoked, told stories, joked, and laughed. There was no solemnity apparent. Late in the afternoon they went out, the members of each kiva being in a separate group which slowly and with quiet good nature made its way through the streets, stopping at the various houses and giving, each man of them, a *naqáqûsi* to each member of the household who came out to greet them. Quiet words of thanks and felicitation were exchanged. There was a noticeable spirit of happiness and benevolence.

While the *naqáqûsi* were being distributed among friends and tied to the tails and manes of burros and horses, and even to wagons, stoves, and ladders, two men from Món-kiva with large burden-baskets on their backs went from house to house, walking rapidly and calling, "Your corn!" From each household in Walpi and in Sichomovi a woman came out with four ears of corn tied together in such a manner that either by the color of the strings or by the manner of wrapping them she could distinguish the bundle from all others. With these the men returned to Món-kiva, where they deposited them on a bed made of the earth and sand brought from the east by the Cloud man on the preceding day. There the corn remained all night and the next day.

The *saqá-vaho* ("blue paho") made for their friends and relatives were not given away at this time, for the reason that these had to remain in the kiva all night. Each man made a bundle of his *saqá-vaho*, and these bundles in each kiva were tied to a stick about three feet long, which a man carried to Món-kiva. The members of Món-kiva sat up all night singing, and toward morning each of the other kivas sent a messenger, who gathered up his bundles of *saqá-vaho* and brought them back to his fellows.

During the night the members of Tsivátop-kiva, joined by a few from Ál-kiva, went to Món-kiva, then to Wiqálvi and to Násavi, and at each kiva performed an Aṇá Kaṧína dance. They wore ordinary clothing, and no masks.

Tíhûni, or Píkamnovi, Eighth Day (December 21)

While it was yet early the other kivas sent messengers to Món-kiva for their bundles of *saqá-vaho*, and when these were brought, each man, reclaiming his particular bundle of prayer-sticks, went about the village distributing them to the persons for whom he had

The Prayer

THE PRAYER

made them. Each deposited at some spring or in some niche in the rocks the *saqá-vaho* he had made for the Sun, and the same disposition was ultimately made of those received by his friends.

There was no feasting nor dancing, as the name of the day implies there should be, and the time was spent in sleep either at home or in the kivas. In the afternoon three men personating Soyál Kafsína and two personating Soyál Kafsína Girls dressed themselves in Móṇ-kiva and came out, led by Sûpla, the Soyál Chief. Each personator of a male Kachina carried four ears of corn under one arm, and each personator of a female Kachina had a tray basket on which was a circle of ears of corn standing on end and held together by a string wrapped around them. In the midst of the circle of corn was a heap of cotton, representing snow. Standing outside Móṇ-kiva, they danced and sang for a few minutes, then moved a short distance and danced again. Thus they danced four times near Móṇ-kiva, and were then led to the *kí-son-vi*,[1] where they danced four times, after which they were led back through the plaza to Móṇ-kiva, dancing at each place as before. Finally they went down into the kiva and danced four times. The ears of corn collected on the preceding day were brought out and laid on the roof of the kiva, and the women reclaimed their own. This ended the ceremony. The dance of the Soyál Kafsína refers to the incident related in the legends of the Cloud clan, when crops of corn were brought to maturity in a single day.

Ceremony of the Warrior Fraternity

The cultus of the war gods, which is in the hands of the Warrior fraternity, Mófs-wimi, was added to the Hopi ceremonial calendar by the Reed people, who were among the earliest arrivals at East mesa, and the head of the Reed clan is always the Warrior Chief, Kalĕ-tak-moṇwi ("brave man chief"). The members of the society are known as Mómfsitŭ or Kákalĕ-taktŭ ("brave men"), and are either Reed men, the sons of Reed men, or individuals who have taken scalps in battle. The ceremony is called Mómfsit-yĕsĕ ("Mómfsitŭ sit").

According to the Reed legends the twin boys Pökáṇ-hoya and Palŏṇao-hoya, with their grandmother Spider Woman, accompanied the people in their ascent from the underworld, and after getting them safely started on their slow migration toward their future home, they gave the people stone images of themselves and then disappeared.

[1] "House enclosed place" — the plaza.

The images of the war gods, and a small stone called Spider Woman, are now kept in a sealed niche in the wall of an unused room in a Reed house. As the war gods not only are very powerful against sorcery, but also control cold weather, they are worshipped in the winter, four days after the winter solstice ceremony, in order that there may be abundant snow to store moisture in the ground. The two figurines, and Spider Woman as well, are then removed from the niche and set up on the altar of the Warrior fraternity. The Warrior Chief personates the elder war god.

On the evening of December 22, 1911,[1] four members of the fraternity met where the images of the war gods are kept in a room beneath the living rooms of Lĕnho, a young woman of the Reed clan. As her quarters are in the second story, the ceremonial room is really on the ground level, though it is apparently an underground cell, being reached only through a hatchway, like a kiva. Those present were Yóywûnŭ, of the Reed clan, the Warrior Chief; Sámi, of the Firewood; Wísti, of the Rabbit division of the Tobacco clan; and Wŭnûtû, brother of the Chief. During the smoking it was formally decided that "the Mómsitŭ will sit four days from tomorrow; let everybody go toward it gladly." This is the usual formula in ceremonial smokes. After the Chief had spoken thus, another man followed in the same strain, and so on, each speech being greeted with a chorus of "*Anchaai!*" As this is a minor ceremony the days are not named as in more important ones, and no public announcement is made.

In the morning of December 25, a young man, son of a Reed clansman, was sent to obtain wood for pahos. It is significant that the material used by the Warriors is syringa, the same as for war arrows, and that the pahos consist of a single stick pointed at both ends.

Just after daylight on December 26 the Warrior Chief went to the ceremonial room and removed from their hiding place the images of the war gods, which are rough cylinders of stone twelve or fourteen inches high and five inches thick. Only the face is delineated. Spider Woman is represented by a small stone. In this room are kept hanging all the paraphernalia of the Warrior Chief, most important of which is the *tóziki*, an ancient badge of office consisting of two thin strands of twisted deer rawhide, which at a certain point swell into a thicker rope wrapped with deerskin. Pendent from the

[1] The smoke was to have been held on the previous evening, that is, the last day of the winter solstice ceremony, but it was decided to wait for Máho, who was visiting Zuñi. Máho failed to return on the following day, and the smoke was no longer postponed.

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SNAKE PRIEST ENTERING THE KIVA

strands are a rawhide war-cap, an imitation of the Apache article, if not an original, with *sucháva* (Olivella shells) sewed on it here and there; and two small pieces of cotton netting, which represent the war-caps of the two gods. This badge of office was formerly worn by the Warrior Chief like a baldric, the pendent objects and the two enlarged portions of the ropes hanging at his left side under the arm, and the ropes passing over the right shoulder. Other ceremonial objects are the large and the small *tála-wipiki* ("light zigzag") lattice-work devices, capable of extension and retraction by pressure on the free ends; the fraternity *típoni;* a cougar-skin quiver with bow and arrows; and two small baskets (*hoápû*), one filled with small, hard pebbles and bits of lava, the other with small shells.

On the walls of the chamber are charcoal drawings of several animals, all fierce beasts of prey: a bear on the west wall, a mountain-lion on one north wall and a wolf on the other, and a wildcat on the east. Above the wolf is a circle for the sun, the presence of which is accounted for by the statement that years ago the sun's rays struck this spot, while at present direct light cannot possibly enter the room. The north wall is not a straight line, but is broken by a narrow offset, in which is the secret niche.

The Warrior Chief, after opening the niche, made a *pôtavi*, and in the northwest corner in front of the niche he proceeded to arrange the altar in this manner:

In a row from left to right were Spider Woman, Pökáṇ-hoya, the fraternity *típoni*, and Palṓṇao-hoya. In front of the elder god was the large lightning-stick, and in front of the younger the small one. Between the two lightning-sticks the *pôtavi* was stretched on the floor, the feathered end toward the centre of the room and the other almost touching the *típoni*.

About the middle of the morning the members of the fraternity began to straggle into the room, and each proceeded to make five *naqáqŭsi*, one for each war god, one for Spider Woman, one for Whirlwind, and one for Mâsôŭ. As soon as finished the first three were placed before the respective images, and the other two on the tray basket of the Warrior Chief, who later was to deposit them at the proper shrines. Then each man made about four pahos, which were finished late in the afternoon, the work proceeding in a very leisurely manner and with much smoking intervening. The pahos, painted with a mixture of water and ground lava, so that they were brown instead of blue-green, like most pahos, were placed in three tray baskets. As soon as his pahos were made, each member was

at liberty to leave the room. In a short time women from the three villages began to flock toward the house with bundles of piki and bowls of stew, and those members who had left the room now returned for the fraternity feast. It is not compulsory to bring food to the Warrior fraternity, nevertheless the great majority of households send food. Many women from Hano were seen in the throng. The men carefully noted the names of the women and kept a close account of their number, and after the conclusion of the meal they counted their pahos. If in such cases the latter are not equal in number to the women who have brought food, enough must be made to supply the deficiency. In the present instance eight more had to be made.

In the evening the members sat smoking and telling stories. A young man educated at school entertained the audience with tales from the bible and instruction in the methods of the United States Government. The biblical stories held the men deeply interested because of similarities noted in the customs of the Hopi and those of the ancient Hebrews.

When Orion was a little past the zenith, the singing began. Only two men, the chief and his brother, knew the songs thoroughly, but the others were able to assist. The songs, fourteen in number, are supplications to the war gods for snow and rain. The words are said to be in the language of some eastern pueblo, in explanation of which it is alleged that the foreign language is used for secrecy. This is less probable than that the ceremony and songs owe their origin to some other tribe.[1]

At the conclusion of the singing the Warrior Chief distributed very hard bits of roots, which the men chewed and deposited in a medicine-bowl. The ingredients of this "man medicine" are called *hón-ṇapi* ("bear medicine"), *tóho-ṇa* ("cougar medicine"), *momó-ṇa* ("bumblebee medicine"), *hȏya-ṇa* ("bee medicine"), *wûkó-chûata-ṇahûata* ("big rattlesnake his medicine"), *piván-ṇa* ("weasel medicine"), and *hȏkpa* ("hemlock"). It will be seen that the animals for which these medicines are named are fierce, or have powerful weapons, or are extremely stealthy in their habits. All are roots, except the hemlock, of which the leaves are employed, and all grow in timbered mountains. The one yielding "bear medicine" is known quite commonly among the Hopi, but the others, with the exception of hemlock, are known to few. Yet the secret is not possessed

[1] Fewkes has called attention to the probable connection between the warrior fraternity and a similar Zuñi society, and deduces that the Reed people came from the Zuñi villages, bringing the war god cult with them.

From Copyright Photograph, 1907 by E. S. Curtis

GUARDING THE SNAKE KIVA

exclusively by the Warrior Chief, but is shared by a number of prominent men, including medicine-men. Shortly before he was interviewed in 1911–1912 the Warrior Chief had made a journey to San Carlos and gathered a large supply of all these roots with the exception of the one that yields "bumblebee medicine," which he always obtains from the Zuñi. This plant he himself does not know. During the story-telling the men had removed the bark from many willow shoots and then torn the woody fibre into thin strips, which they doubled up and tied in small, neat packets like the arrangement of a Hopi man's hair in the back. These were now dropped into the medicine-bowl that they might absorb the "man medicine." Four songs were sung in a foreign language.[1]

Orion was about to set. Daylight was approaching. Some old men were sleepy, and the small boys had actually fallen asleep during the story-telling. The others now amused themselves by teasing the sleepy boys and the nodding old men, and in this way the time was passed until daylight broke, when each selected his pahos and an equal number of willow-fibre packets and went up the ladder. The houses of all those who had brought food had been apportioned among the members, beginning with those at the south end of the mesa. A packet and a paho were handed in at the door of each house, and the inmates, who were up and waiting, received them with thanks, placing the medicine-soaked packet in the household water-jar and the paho among the roof-beams.

Ceremony of the Snake and Antelope Fraternities

The Snake[2] dance, best known of Hopi ceremonies and one of the most spectacular of all primitive performances, is a biennial, sixteen-day rite conducted by the Snake and Antelope fraternities as a dramatized prayer for rain. It occurs in the odd-numbered years at Walpi and Mishongnovi, and in the even-numbered years at Shipaulovi, Shongopavi, and Oraibi, and also at Hotavila, a recent offshoot of Oraibi.[3] As the preliminary smoke is held on the fourth day of the Pá-mûya moon, the ceremony is a variable one, falling, roughly, within the month of August,[4] and generally culminating about the twentieth.

[1] It was not possible to record any of these.

[2] The ceremony is so widely known as the "Snake" dance that it is so designated throughout this volume, although the Hopi name specifically means rattlesnake.

[3] There was no performance in 1918 at Oraibi, which is well-nigh deserted.

[4] In 1906 the celebration at Shongopavi was a day later than at Shipaulovi, and in 1919 Mishongnovi preceded Walpi by three days.

The Antelope Chief (Tsóp-moṇwi), who must be of the Rattlesnake clan, personates Ísanavaiya, chief of the Rattlesnake people who lived, according to the clan legend, under the mountain that was covered with rattlesnakes. As such he is the real head of the ceremony, and the Snake priests are his servants, just as the rattlesnakes on the mountain were the guards and servants of Ísanavaiya. This relationship is indicated by these facts: that for each performance the Antelope Chief selects a Rattlesnake clansman, or the son of one, to be his Warrior; that the Antelopes meet in Móṇ-kiva, the principal kiva; that each morning before the Snake priests hunt snakes, their chief goes to the Antelope kiva for pahos which the Antelope priests have made, and the Antelope Chief says to him: "Now you will go and gather snakes for me. If it should rain, you may drink." (While hunting snakes they are not permitted to drink standing water, unless it fell on that very day.) But the Snake Chief is called Warrior Chief of the ceremony, and his men are Warriors for the time being.

Preparations for the Snake dance begin in the winter, not long after the ceremony of the Warrior society, when the leaders of the Snakes and Antelopes make pahos, which are then planted in the four directions as offerings to the chiefs of these world-regions.

The extremely dramatic performance of the last day, in which the priests dance publicly with rattlesnakes in their hands, about their necks, and even between their lips, has generally been accepted as a remarkable and inexplicable exhibition, the triumph of primitive philosophy, or craft, or courage, or what-not, over one of Nature's most venomous reptiles. But the most remarkable aspect is that so little scepticism seems to have been aroused. The Snake priests do handle rattlesnakes. But the rattlesnakes have first been rendered absolutely harmless by the removal of their fangs before a hand is laid on them. For the truth of this statement we have only one man's word; but as that man is a Snake priest of many years' standing, there need be no hesitation in accepting it. The roots of broken fangs in a snake drop off in the course of a few days, so that a majority of the rattlesnakes are probably quite fangless at the time of the dance. However, the rattlesnake possesses a considerable number of rudimentary fangs, one pair of which pushes forward to supply the deficiency, and not long after their release the snakes used in the dance are as well armed as ever.

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SINGING TO THE SNAKES - SHIPAULOVI

Initiation into the Snake and Antelope Fraternities

Boys of the Rattlesnake clan, and sons of Rattlesnake clansmen, as well as those who, having been bitten by a snake or afflicted with a disease believed to have been caused by one, have been cured by a Snake priest, are obliged to join either the Snakes or the Antelopes.[1] Female members of the clan and daughters of male members, as well as those who have been cured of snake-bite or a swelling of the body by a Snake priest, become associate members of the fraternity. The only part played by these women is in preparing water for the snake medicine and watching the boiling medicine during the day; in sprinkling meal on the snakes while the priests dance with them; and in being present for a short time in the Snake kiva after the making of the "man medicine." Nevertheless they are regarded as members, being called Chŭ-wimkya, just like a male priest.

The initiation takes place in early boyhood, and the child is given his choice of entering the Snake fraternity at once, or of joining the Antelopes for a time. Later, as a young man, he will become a Snake priest, provided he is brave enough, and as a very old man he will return to the ranks of the Antelopes. Those who are cured by Snake priests of either snake-bites or diseases supposedly caused by snakes join either the Antelopes or the Snakes, according as they are timorous or courageous. If they fear the snakes, they frankly declare it, and say that while they are willing to do their best, they will have to "go in the humbler way." They remain in the Antelope fraternity to the end, unless they later become courageous enough to join the Snakes.

When a boy is ready to join one or the other order, his father goes to the kiva of that fraternity on the seventh day of the ceremony, and informs the chief of his son's intention. The matter is then discussed among the members, and one volunteers to be the boy's ceremonial father. On the following day (Yŭṇya) he brings the boy to the kiva, where the novitiate remains with the other members and learns what he can from their actions and their conversation. When the snake-hunt begins, if it is the Snake fraternity he is joining

[1] The Rattlesnake clan does not exist at Shongopavi and Shipaulovi, and there the rule is that a boy must join any fraternities to which belongs the ceremonial father who introduced him into the Kachina order. This rule probably applies also at Mishongnovi and Oraibi, although both have Rattlesnake clans. It is generally affirmed at Walpi that the performance there is the norm, because "the Walpi Rattlesnake clan is directly descended from the original Rattlesnakes of Tokonabi"; and that the rather widely variant forms of the other villages, being derived from the Walpi ceremony, are more or less corrupt.

he is taken along and the first snake discovered must be picked up by him. Boys sometimes weep with fear, but they are nevertheless forced to endure the ordeal, although sometimes one of the men must first take up the snake in order to reassure the novitiate and show him how it is done.

There is no formal instruction of novices in the songs, traditions, and secrets of the order. These must be learned by observation. The inner secrets of the Snake order are possessed only by the Snake Chief, who, years before he begins to age, gradually imparts them to one, usually a relative, whom he thinks capable of filling his position. There are only seven Snake songs, and they are sung to the snakes, "for their amusement," as well as in washing the reptiles. In the public dance in the plaza the numerous Antelope songs are used.

The Smoke

In the evening the Antelope Chief, the Snake Chief, the Crier Chief, and a few of the elder members of the two fraternities, meet in a house of the Snake clan near the so-called Snake rock for the ceremonial smoke, and in the usual manner they agree that on the following day shall be made the announcement of the Snake dance, which shall occur "on the sixteenth day from the day after tomorrow." [1] The evening for the Smoke is set by the Antelope Chief, who, having observed the moon, determines what will be the fifth day of Pá-mûya, the July-August moon.

The Announcement

At sunrise the Crier Chief makes the usual announcement in the manner previously described.[2] Absolutely nothing of a ceremonial nature is done in the next seven days. The priests do not yet begin to abstain from food and to practise continence.

Yŭṇya Assembly, Eighth Day

(*a*) In the Snake Kiva

The Snake Chief goes into the kiva called Wiqálvi, usually accompanied by two or three old men. Nothing ceremonial is done, and soon he goes to help the Antelope Chief make prayer-sticks. Formerly all the members entered the kiva on this day and remained there during the rest of the ceremony, except as their ceremonial

[1] Counting the "day after tomorrow" as the first day, in the usual manner of Indian reckoning.

[2] See page 110.

ANTELOPES STARTING FOR THE PLAIN.—SHIRAZ (p. 71)

duties called them out. The night is even now passed in the kiva, and at mealtime the members go home for food, which they bring to the kiva. They are careful not to enter the houses, because the odor of woman is believed to be very repulsive to the snakes, which would be much offended if their priests should go near women at this time.

(*b*) In the Antelope Kiva

In the morning the Antelope Chief enters Mǒn-kiva, accompanied by his Hǒṇovaiya ("strong servant"), the "Warrior" mentioned previously, and by a few of the elder members. He makes four *saqá-vaho* and sings over them, and these offerings the Strong Servant takes out and plants in the four cardinal directions, according to the Hopi orientation. Then the chief sets up his *típoni*, with that of the Snake Chief beside it. The Snake *típoni* remains in this position until Totókya day.

Sŭs-tala, Ninth Day

Nothing occurs in the Snake kiva. The Snake Chief and some of his old men are present, usually a few more than on the preceding day.

The Antelope Chief, assisted by the Snake Chief, again makes four pahos, which the Strong Servant takes out as before. With the help of the priests who happen to be present the Antelope Chief makes pahos which the snake men will use when they hunt snakes.

Lŏs-tala, Tenth Day

This is the first day of the snake-hunt, and all Snake priests enter the kiva immediately after breakfast,[1] and make *naqáqŭsi*. They strip to the loin-cloth, and smear their bodies and the *naqáqŭsi* with red paint, which is the "pollen of the snakes." At the same time the chief offers a prayer that the snakes may not harm them. Each man is provided with a wooden dibble, a throwing-stick, and sometimes a hoe, all of which are used in digging snakes out of their holes, and catching them; and two eagle-feathers, a cloth bag, and a packet of food. Their practical nakedness is a kind of prayer that rain may fall and incidentally cool their sunburned bodies while watering the fields. The chief reminds his men that they may drink only from living springs and from newly fallen rain. Then with the pahos made by the Antelopes and their own *naqáqŭsi* the Snake

[1] Nowadays it sometimes happens that a few fail to join in the snake-hunt, on account of fear.

priests climb the ladder and go single-file down the trail to the north. They plant pahos in Tĕvĕskya spring, and a little farther on, at the place where on the last day they will deposit some of the snakes, they leave their *naqáqŭsi*, with a prayer to the snakes that they be well disposed.

Taaí,	*itá-naa,*	*Pá-lólokaṇû*	*ûm-ita*	*mûioqátûwûni.*	*Pá-lólokaṇû,*			
well	our father	water bullsnake	you us	have-pity	water bullsnake			
ítamû	*û-sínomŭ.*	*Óviya*	*nátko*	*tákamûi*	*ɨp*	*salaí-totini.*	*Taaí,*	
we	your people	for-them	plenty	thereof (?)	here	enough will-be	well	
itá-naa,	*chúchû-pohóknani*		*nok*	*ka-húkam*	*himúwa*	*nákyatani.*	*Pai*	*lólmani.*
our father	rattlesnakes pacify		so	no where	anyone	angry-will-be	that	good-will-be
Yókuvani.	*Amúŭtvi*	*mónvas-totini.*	*Yántani.*					
rain-will	on their account	benefit will-be	so-be-it					

"Now, our Father, Water Bullsnake, have pity on us. Water Bullsnake, we are your people. For them let there be here abundance. Now, our Father, pacify the rattlesnakes, so that none will be angry. That will be well. It will rain. On their account good will come. So be it."

Then they scatter to the hunt.

The people understand, without special announcement, that on this day no one may go into the valley northward from the village. If the Snake men encounter any one during the hunt, they call out, "Do not run!" They go up to him, and holding a snake out toward him they make a downward motion four times with the snake, and then say, "It is done! Go!" [1]

When the first snake is found they all surround it, and each throws meal on it, begging: "Do not be angry! Be quiet; do not harm us! May the Sun, our father, help us." Then the one who discovered it tames the reptile by brushing over it with his two eagle-feathers (*wûvápi*, whip) until it straightens out and tries to escape, when he seizes it quickly by the neck. If a novice is present, the reptile is then put down, and he is told to catch it. Some boys are afraid, and cry, and some cannot be made to catch the snake, in which case the novitiate is told to hold his bag down on the ground: and the others drive the snake into it. He is not yet, however, a full-fledged member. A little later, when familiarity with the sight of others

[1] At Middle mesa the Snake men surround the intruder, and the chief asks, "Who will be his father?" If anyone is willing to be his ceremonial father, which implies that the volunteer will have to provide the new member with a ceremonial kilt, a sash of deerskin fringe, moccasins, feathers, and rattles, the unexpected novitiate is taken along to the hunt. If, however, no one is willing to be his ceremonial father, they have to let the man go.

SNAKES AND ANTELOPES AT ORAIBI

catching snakes has made him more courageous, he catches one and completes his initiation. Little boys occasionally are more reckless than older men who are being initiated; for a man thinks more of the possible consequences than a boy, who is inclined to do just what he is told to do, trusting fully in the wisdom of his elders.

A rattlesnake is moved about with a stick until an opportunity is offered to catch its head under the stick and press it down on the sand. The pressure causes its mouth to gape, and the blade of a wooden hoe, or of any flat stick, is slipped in between the jaws. Then with the thumbnail the fangs are broken off short, the nail pressing against the fang near the base while the point of the fang rests on the blade or stick.[1] Then its body is handled and rubbed

[1] At the conclusion of a discussion of the ceremony with a certain Snake priest, the writer, having some years previously observed a rattlesnake with distended jaws trying in vain to effect a hold on a dancer's cheek, abruptly asked the informant how the rattlesnake's fangs are treated before the reptile is handled. When the interpreter had at length been persuaded to put a question so palpably foolish, the old man showed considerable surprise, a speculative surprise as he studied his interviewer's face, endeavoring to determine how much was actually known. When the question was repeated in a matter-of-fact way, as if there was nothing at all mysterious about the subject, his reluctance gave way. After revealing the procedure, however, he was noticeably perturbed, and brought the interview abruptly to a close. The interpreter was more backward. After a few hesitating pauses he gave the information, which was news to him, and at the conclusion he blushed with chagrin that this great bit of Hopi magic had been exposed as a clever trick.

Eight years later, in 1919, the same informant was asked, without the embarrassing presence of an interpreter, whether for a small sum (five dollars was suggested) he would catch a rattlesnake and break its fangs, permitting photographs of the process to be made. He replied that for six dollars he would willingly do it, provided he might so turn his face or bend his head that his features would not be recognizable. He would do this, he said, because for eight years his secret had been so well kept that he had great faith in his confidant. He then went on to describe again, in a mixture of Hopi, English, Spanish, and gestures, the manner of removing the fangs, and added the information that when he was initiated as a boy there were two other boys and a youth, none of whom knew the secret; for only after long-tried loyalty and taciturnity were the members informed that the rattlesnakes' fangs were removed. In the course of the hunt this youth, inadvertently left alone for a time, came upon a rattlesnake and proceeded to catch it as if it had been a bullsnake. It bit his wrist, and he was hurriedly taken to the kiva. There he sat for two days and a night, motionless, with bowed head, his arm tremendously swollen and the flesh decaying with a terrible stench. He did not die, but the misfortune threatened for a time to give the death-blow to the Snake dance at Walpi.

It should be stated that the only purpose in proposing to photograph the operation was to open the subject for discussion, to observe how the retired Snake priest would react to such a suggestion, and perhaps to acquire some new bit of information. The risk of accident in handling the snake by one long unaccustomed to it, and the practical certainty that the publication of such a photograph would result in serious trouble, perhaps in murder, were the considerations that prevented the consummation of the bargain. For the latter reason also the informant's name is withheld.

Subsequently to all this, unexpected confirmation was secured, or rather it came unsought at Zuñi. The Chikyaliqĕ, or Water Rattlesnake people, formerly kept rattlesnakes captive in a new jar in the fraternity house during their rites, and some of the men danced with reptiles tied about their necks and at the back of their waists. The snakes were caught by the neck while the head was pressed down on the ground with a stick, and then, while the reptile was firmly held in the hand, a small stick was employed in breaking off its fangs. Even now rattle-

while the head is still pressed down, and after a while the reptile becomes passive and is easily picked up and dropped into the bag. To catch the first snake quickly is a good omen.

At noon the Snake men assemble at Pûhŭ-va ("new spring"), on the north side of the valley lying west of Walpi, to partake of a light meal, and after a brief rest, during which the snakes are shaken out on the sand to cool themselves, while the novitiates keep them together with their "whips," they scatter and return to the village, still searching for snakes. In a certain place at the foot of the mesa they assemble, and thence come single-file into the village and down into the kiva, each one bringing a quantity of sand in a bit of cloth. Usually they hunt in pairs or trios to help one another.

A prayer-stick is deposited at each spring and shrine visited by the snake-hunters.

In the kiva they spread the sand in a strip about three feet wide, extending laterally across the lower part of the floor between the fireplace and the rear wall, and on this the reptiles are placed and permitted to crawl about. A watchman is stationed at each side of the strip, and when any snake crawls off the sand the watchman whips it back. By and by the snakes cease to attempt to leave the sand. At bedtime they are gathered up one by one and put into earthen jars, which are provided with small ventilating holes, and early in the morning they are again placed on the sand; but before the priests go out to hunt they replace the reptiles in the jars and carefully smooth the sand, so that if any snake escapes from its jar it will leave a trail. There are separate receptacles for the different species.

Only the Snake Chief remains in the kiva at night with the snakes, the others sleeping on the roof, or on the ground in the immediate vicinity. The snakes sometimes force the stoppers out of their jars, and crawl about the kiva, and when the Snake Chief hears the sound of a crawling reptile he builds a little fire and summons his men to help catch it.

On this tenth day the Antelope Chief makes his four pahos and the Strong Servant deposits them as usual.

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snakes are said to be caught in this fashion when found by any fraternity man in his field, and released outside the field without mutilation of the fangs. The informant, a member of the Big Ember society, affirms that he has repeatedly done this. Like the Hopi, the Zuñi never kill snakes.

SNAKE DANCER AND "HUGGER"

SNAKE DANCER AND "HOOPER"

Paĭs-tala, Eleventh Day

As on the preceding day the Snake priests hunt snakes, but this time to the west, depositing their offerings at the shrine Chŭ-ki ("rattlesnake house") at the foot of the mesa on the trail leading to Middle mesa. The hunt proceeds as usual, but after a short time they assemble at the ruin of the village which the migrating Snake clan built in the valley between the two mesas. After smoking, they scatter and return to the village about noon, and eat their meal in the kiva. Then, while the snakes lie on the sand, they sing, in an unknown foreign language, seven songs "for the amusement of the snakes, because they are the children of the Snake clan," two men wielding rattles of antelope-skin containing grains of corn.

Of frequent occurrence are the words "*Sĭpapûni Tsámahiya áwahiya yómahiya sinaháya.*" *Tsámahiya* is the song form of Tsámaheya, the name of the scout whom, according to the Rattlesnake legend, the people at Tokonabi sent over the country to find people with whom they could unite; and *Sĭpapûni* is for Sĭpapuni, the place of the mythological emergence of the Snake people from the lower world. The language is Keres. A Zuñi informant avers that he has heard the same song in the Ant fraternity at Santo Domingo; and a man at Laguna, another Keres pueblo, says that he has heard old men employing all these words in supplication as if they were the names of deities.

While singing, the priests sit about the sand strip, marking the rhythm with their feather "whips" and keeping the reptiles constantly moving. By the time the singing is finished the reptiles have become lethargic, and the priests sit and smoke. At bedtime the snakes are replaced in jars.

In the Antelope kiva the chief makes the four pahos as usual, and the Strong Servant places them in the appropriate places.

Nalŏs-tala, Twelfth Day

The Snake priests, gathering snakes in the southern quarter, plant their offerings at the spring Tawá-pa, then proceed to Ŏs-teika (south of Five Houses), where they drink and eat their noon meal. They turn back to the spring Ĭs-ba, where they drink, and then go to Tála-teika ("dawn point"), a rocky promontory on the Tawá-pa trail, to rest a short time before returning to the kiva early in the afternoon. Again they sing the seven songs to the snakes, "amusing their children."

In the Antelope kiva the usual four pahos are made, and offered in the four quarters.

Sûskahimŭ, Thirteenth Day

This is a kind of feast day in the snake hunting, and formerly the priests prepared a goodly amount of food at "gray dawn," and at the "yellow dawn" made their start from the village toward the east. But now the start is not made before sunrise. At Wála, the Gap, the younger men give their food to a few old men, who at once go to the spring Kanél-va, where they sit smoking and waiting for the others. Some of these proceed in their hunting along the top of the mesa; others go among the rocks at the foot of the mesa up through the ruin of Sikyatki, then up through the sand hills and down on the northwest side of the mesa to the spring. Then while the novitiates watch the snakes, the younger priests gather fuel, and soon they have their noon meal. It is about midday when they meet here, though by the Hopi reckoning it is two hours before noon.

It is on this day that the most snakes are caught, because the start is earlier and the hunt more vigorous. Probably similar effort is not exerted on the three preceding days for the reason that it is not desired to have the care of too many reptiles for so long a time. Sometimes men make extra bags of cloth and rags taken from scarecrows in the cornfields, in order to hold the snakes caught on this day. An informant remembers that a certain man, after filling two bags and lacking material for a third, took several snakes into the folds of his loin-cloth.

After the smoke at Kanél-va they return to the village, proceeding this time along the west side of the cliff, and about sunset they assemble at the Gap, from which place, after the chief has counted the catch, they come into the kiva in a body. On previous days a count is made in the kiva There is no singing on this day.

In the Antelope kiva the usual preparation and offering of four pahos occur.

Komók-totókya, Fourteenth Day

(*a*) In the Snake Kiva

In the Snake kiva the morning is passed in the preparation of costumes for the dance, painting, repairing, making anew. At noon the chief and an assistant begin to arrange the altar, the basis of which is a sand mosaic about thirty inches square. In the middle and facing the east is the mountain-lion, surrounded by four differently

THE "CATCHER"

THE "CATCHER"

colored snakes parallel to the sides. At regular intervals along each side of the mosaic are placed eight *nölökpi*, which are syringa shoots about thirty inches long, curved like a shepherd's crook at the upper end, where a down feather hangs. The lower ends are embedded in hemispheres of clay prepared by novitiates. At each corner stands an arrow embedded in a ball of clay, and at the back of the mosaic the Snake Chief stands his *típoni*.

The altar being completed, the preparation of the "man medicine" begins. Previously on this day the Snake Chief has gone to the room in which is kept the paraphernalia of the Warrior fraternity, and brought thence the various roots used by the Warriors in making their "man medicine," as well as the shells and bits of hard stone which the Warrior Chief keeps as a symbol of the hardiness of his Warriors. The Snake Chief now distributes about the four sides of the altar, and at two corners for zenith and nadir, the six species of root, each of which has its prescribed position, according to the world-region to which it figuratively belongs. The reason for using the "man medicine" of the Warriors is that the Snake ceremony is not only a prayer for rain but an exhibition of manliness and fearlessness.[1] The baldric of the Warrior Chief is then coiled up on the figure of the cougar, and the medicine-bowl of the Warriors is set on it. This "bowl" is really a piñon-gummed Apache basket.

Now the singing begins, and a Snake priest of the Cloud clan pours water into the vessel from each of the six directions corresponding to the six world-regions, finally filling it. Another member takes an arrow from a corner of the altar, and holding the point of it in the bowl with both hands grasping the shaft, he stirs constantly and with much firmness while the Snake Chief, with ceremonious motions toward the six world-regions, puts in the various roots. The singing is continuous.

Toward sunset the Antelope priests and the Snake women come into the kiva, the reptiles having been previously replaced in the jars, which are set on the raised portion of the floor behind a curtain, in order that the snakes may not see the women and become offended. Each person swallows a sip of the medicine, ejects a second mouthful on his hands, and rubs them over the body. Then the Snake Chief, passing behind the curtain that conceals the jars of reptiles, brings out a rattlesnake, and pausing in front of each one of the Antelopes

[1] The fact that the Rattlesnake clan, and presumably the Snake fraternity, entered the Hopi country before the Reed clan, and presumably the Warrior fraternity, indicates that at one time the Snake fraternity did not use this medicine.

and the Snake women, who sit in a row, he holds it in both hands and moves it rapidly up and down several times, as if it were dancing. Then one of his men carries it away and releases it at one of the shrines where the snakes are to be liberated on the last day of the ceremony. This act is regarded as a form of initiation into the Snake fraternity of the Antelope novitiates and the female Snake novitiates. After its completion the Antelopes and the Snake women withdraw. The unused medicine remains in the bowl, awaiting the last day, when it will be mixed with gypsum to make the white paint with which the Snake men smear their bodies and faces. Some of this mixture of medicine-water and gypsum they also will form into small balls, which they will stick to their baldrics (*tóziki*).

(*b*) In the Antelope Kiva

In the Antelope kiva the chief makes the four pahos, which the Strong Servant disposes as before. After darkness has fallen, the Antelopes, one of them carrying a netted gourd, descend to Tawá-pa, where they plant pahos and then sit about the spring smoking and talking, until near dawn, when with the gourd of water they return to their kiva. This is intended to bring rain.

Soon after dark on this night the Crier Chief makes the announcement of the Antelope race: "Tomorrow, ye boys and ye young men who have not yet gone to bed, tomorrow we will run for the Antelopes from below Tawá-pa! So ye boys and ye young men must go down early in the morning!"

Totókya, Fifteenth Day

(*a*) In the Snake Kiva

Before dawn the Snake priests go to the other kiva and remain there, singing the Antelope songs until the end of the Antelope race. Later in the morning the Snake Chief goes to recover his *típoni*, which during the singing has been standing beside the *típoni* of the Antelope Chief, and he sets it up in his own kiva behind a sand mosaic on the lower level of the floor. The morning is spent in making *naqáqŭsi*, and in the afternoon the Snake men join in the Antelope dance.

After the Snake priests have had their evening meal, the chief says, "Now decide among you what you are going to do tomorrow." Then they arrange themselves in threes, by choice, and each trio discusses the question, who shall dance with the snakes (*kyáßanma*, having-in-mouth), who shall be the "hugger" (*mavópumaka*), and

A "Catcher" Picking up a Snake

who shall be the "catcher" (*poṇimaka*). The discussion lasts far into the night, for most men are reluctant to hold the snakes in their mouths; indeed there are some priests who never have handled the reptiles in the dance. But at last some one in each group loses patience and recklessly declares that he will take the part, and when all is settled, they partake of a meal, and the chief selects four of those who are to handle the snakes and sends them to plant pahos in the four quarters. Each goes in a different direction, but each makes a complete circuit and leaves pahos in the four quarters. Three of them leave the kiva with their offerings at once, but the one who is to start eastward goes at dawn, accompanying the men who participate in the Snake race and returning to the village with them. Because of their dislike for travelling about the rocky trails in darkness, they sometimes delay the assignment of parts even beyond the time it would be expected to occupy. When the three men have gone with their pahos, the others roll themselves in their blankets and sleep; for the Snake priests do not remain up all night on Totókya as do the members of many other fraternities. From now until the end they neither eat nor drink.

On Totókya night there is a public announcement that the young men will race early in the morning for the Snake priests.

(*b*) In the Antelope Kiva

When the Antelope priests return from their vigil at Tawâ-pa it is almost daylight, and in a very short time, still before dawn, the Snake men join them. One of the Snakes, a boy in full costume, carries a reptile, and with him is a Snake girl bearing an earthen bowl in which are two bunches of cornstalks. Both the boy and the girl have the chin painted black. In the Antelope kiva the boy takes his place on the south and the girl on the north side of the altar, and while the two fraternities sing the Antelope songs, the boy and the girl rhythmically move the snake and the cornstalks up and down. This continues until the first of the racers reaches the mesa, when one of the Snake priests takes the reptile down into the valley and there releases it.

(*c*) The Antelope Race

Tsŏvi-yûtŭ ("antelope running") occurs on this Totókya day. A man of the Horn clan, selected by the Antelope priests (or, if there is no Horn man willing or available, a man who has married into the clan), comes to the Antelope kiva shortly before dawn.

He is called Pûsuḳna-taka ("bursting man"). He brings a netted gourd, and receives from the Antelope Chief a bundle of five pahos and a *pôtavi*. At Tawâ-pa spring he ties a paho to a stick, which he thrusts into the mud at the edge of the water, sprinkling meal about it and praying that there may be rain that day. Then he dips up ooze and water in his gourd and runs to a point about three miles east of the mesa, where he plants the other four pahos in a north-and-south row, extending the line by drawing a furrow in the sand at each end of the row. As a rule pahos are placed with the "face" toward the rising sun, but in this case they face the village, for the reason that they typify the spirit of the rain which is desired. The *pôtavi* he stretches in front of the pahos, the feather end being toward the village, and along the outstretched string he sprinkles meal, which with the *pôtavi* symbolizes a road for the rain. While doing this he prays: "Sun, our father, grant that all may go well this day. May the rain come. May the young men who are to run have good hearts. May nothing untoward happen today."

Just before sunrise come the racers. Participation in this ceremonial contest is a matter of choice, and does not depend on membership in any clan, fraternity, or kiva. Formerly many young men took part in it, but now there are sometimes only two, although others waiting in an arroyo near the mesa or among the rocks at the foot of the cliff join at the finish in order to give the end of the race a semblance of reality.

Bursting Man smears his ooze on the sole of each runner's left foot, so that as they run they will leave traces of mud on the ground, which symbolizes the muddy feet of one walking after a heavy rain. The racers take their stand on the lines at the end of the row of pahos, and Bursting Man stands in front of them, facing the east. Just as the sun appears, he raises his gourd successively to the north, west, south, east, and zenith, and finally, with a downward swing for the nadir, he lets it crash to the ground. The instant it breaks, the racers dash forward, leaping toward the feathered end of the *pôtavi* and running across it; for they represent the rain gods and the rain which is desired to follow the path of the *pôtavi* toward the village. The course leads up the trail past the ruin of Kisakobi (Old Walpi) to the top of the mesa. Each runner goes to his home without ceremony.

Bursting Man runs after the racers, and, arriving in the village, goes to the house of a clanswoman who is custodian of the string of deer-hoof rattles which he wears about his waist. He removes the string and hands it to the woman, who thanks him.

Picking up the Snakes

(*d*) The Antelope Dance

About midday the Snake priests go into the valley for leafy cottonwood boughs, with which they build in *kisonvi* (the plaza) a circular booth called *kísi* ("shade"). The doorway is covered with a cloth, and the top is open to the sky. Meanwhile the Antelope priests have prepared two bundles of green shoots from all kinds of plants used for food, and these one of their number carries into the *kísi*. As the sun sinks, the Antelopes come out of their kiva, single-file, and march into the plaza, where with martial step they pass four times about the space, singing and shaking their antelope-skin rattles. Each time, as they pass the *kísi*, they drop a sprinkling of meal on a bit of board that covers a hollow in the ground, and stamp vigorously on it with the right foot. This simulation of thunder is designed to bring thunder-clouds and rain. After their four circuits, the Antelopes form in a long line, shoulder to shoulder with their backs toward the *kísi*. They are still singing and shaking their rattles, when the Snake priests appear and march in the same manner about the plaza, sprinkling meal on the board, stamping, and singing. The difference in the bearing of the Antelope and the Snake priests is marked, the Snakes moving with determined masterfulness as if they were the very lords of creation. Their four circuits completed, the Snake men stand in a row facing the Antelopes, and both fraternities begin to sing in low tones, shaking their rattles gently; but gradually the volume of sound increases, in simulation of the approach of distant thunder. Now another song is begun, and an Antelope priest of the Corn clan, followed by a Snake priest of the Cloud clan, goes into the *kísi*, from which he emerges with a bunch of green stalks and vines. He dances around the open space four times, holding it in his hands and mouth just as the Snake men handle snakes; and the Snake priest dances behind him with his left arm about the Antelope's neck, like the "hugger" in the dance with reptiles. At the conclusion of the fourth circuit the Antelope brings out the second bunch and dances with it, finally replacing it in the *kísi*, after which the fraternities return to their respective kivas, and women bring food to the Antelopes. After the meal the Strong Servant of the Antelope Chief carries the two bunches of green stalks from the *kísi* into the valley, and leaves them in the cornfields as an offering and a supplication for the maturing of all plants.

The Antelopes are required to pass this night in the kiva. At dawn they will sing for the Snake race, and at sunset they will assist in the Snake dance; but, the rigor of ceremonial rules being now

considerably abated, the intervening time may be spent at work in the fields. They must not, however, approach a woman.

Tíňŭni, or Píkamnovi, Sixteenth Day

(*a*) The Snake Race

Chŭ-yûtŭ ("rattlesnake running") occurs on the last day of the ceremony. Before dawn a Horn clansman, permissibly the one that acted in the Antelope race, but preferably a different one, brings to the Antelope kiva a netted gourd, and receives seven pahos and a *pôtavi*, which the Snake priests have made and given to the Antelopes. He then goes along the western side of the mesa and plants a paho in Aṇwŭs-pa ("crow spring"), another in Kanél-va, a third in Wípho; and from each spring he takes ooze and water in his gourd. Then he returns to a place about half a mile south of Wípho and five miles from Walpi, where he plants the remaining four pahos and lays out the *pôtavi* as in the Antelope race. The procedure is now exactly the same as in the Antelope race, with this one difference: At the foot of the mesa below the Gap is the shrine where, according to the Rattlesnake legend, some old men were turned into stones. Here an old man of the Rattlesnake clan stands with a short stick, on the bent end of which a paho is tied. This represents an old hunchback. When the runners approach, he urges them on, crying, "Run! Run!" As they pass him, each touches the crooked stick, and when the last runner has gone he hurries after them. Meanwhile the Antelopes have appointed four Horn clansmen, who separately go in the four cardinal directions to place in the dry watercourses pahos and round balls of mud, such as are found after heavy rains. They gather the débris washed down by the last freshet and scatter it over the ground as they run toward the course of the racers, to join them and enter the village with them.

On their way to the starting place some of the runners visit the gardens about Wípho and there gather bunches of cornstalks, bean-vines, and pepper-plants, and as they come running into the village, women pursue them with shouts and laughter, and take the green stalks from them. The little boys on this morning are naked and painted white, and they have their hands full of cornstalks, melons, and other plants and fruits. As soon as the racers come in sight, the boys run about the mesa, while little girls pursue them and take away their plants and fruits. Thus is expressed the desire and the prayer that crops may grow rapidly.

On the four days following, the men go about with various articles

DEPOSITING SNAKES IN THE CIRCLE OF MEAL

in their hands, such as melons, corn, baskets, or even objects bought in the stores, and these the women are privileged to take. Sometimes they confiscate things not intended to be taken, such as an entire load of melons being brought from the fields. This is a survival of a former custom, when young men brought from the valley garlands of squash flowers, which they would fling about their heads as they ran hither and thither with the women in pursuit.

(*b*) The Snake Washing

Early in the morning the men who are to handle snakes in the dance go into the valley to deposit *naqáqŭsi* that were made on the previous day, returning about the time the racers arrive. At the same time the Snake Chief goes for his medicine-roots, which are not of the same species as those used for the "man medicine." Nobody but the Snake Chief and the man whom he trains for his successor knows their identity. Sitting apart from the others, and working in the concealment of a blanket drooping from his shoulders, the Snake Chief pounds up the roots; and while it is still morning he takes the pulverized substance to the principal house of the Rattlesnake clan, there to place it in vessels of boiling water, which the Snake women have provided and which they watch as the water boils during the rest of the day.

Early in the afternoon occurs the washing of the reptiles. A man of the Cloud clan pours water, with ceremonious gestures toward the six world regions, into a very large earthen bowl, or sometimes into two or three bowls, thus supposedly influencing the rains. Then the Cloud clan Snake priests gather round the vessel and beat up a lather of yucca-root, while the snakes crawl on the sand. The singing of the Snake songs is begun when water is poured into the vessel, and is continued with great vigor during the act of washing.

Two of the Shipaulovi snake-washing songs run as follows. The few significant words are in the Keres language and mean nothing to the Snake men. The second song is the one used during the actual washing of the reptiles. Though chanted in low tones, it is very spiritedly rendered with double tempo beginning with the second line.

Haíiyē haíiyē haíiyē, haiyí!
Haíiyē haíiyē haíiyē, haiyí!
Hóshkē hóshkē pináwi másaiwa[1] toní!
Yēhē ēyē yē, á u haíiyē, á u haíiyē, haíi, haíi, yē á u haíiyē!
Yēhē ēyē yē, á u haíiyē, á u haíiyē, haíi, haíi, yē á u haíiyē
Yēhē ēyē yē! Síyapatû síyapatû yóyo![2]
Ná u haíiyē, ná u haíiyē, á u haíiyē, haiyē!

[1] *Másaiwa* is probably for Másēwi, a Keres mythological personage.
[2] *Yóyo* is probably for Oyóyai, one of the Keres hero-brothers.

While the lather is being made, the other priests begin to gather up the reptiles, catching them carefully by the necks and holding them just as carefully, two, three, or four in one hand and all together, not between the fingers as the catchers and the Antelopes hold them in the dance. When the lather is ready, each man passes his handful of snakes to one of the Cloud clansmen, who grasps them carefully, with both hands as close to the heads as possible, and dips them into the suds, moving them about in the water and still holding fast to their necks. Then he lays them away on the altar, where the novitiates with their feather "whips" keep them moving about over the sand until the mosaic is obliterated and the snakes are dry. Each Cloud clansman takes his turn in washing a handful of snakes. At the conclusion of the snake washing, the Cloud clansmen say, "Now may our clansmen [the clouds] soon wash us!"

The purpose of the washing is said to be threefold: first, "because the snakes are our children;" secondly, "because we think that by washing the snakes, who are very powerful, we may be repaid by them in the form of rains, which they will send to wash us in return;" thirdly, "because we wish the bodies of the snakes to be clean when we put them in our mouths."

(c) The Snake Dance

Now the members begin to prepare for the dance. Pink clay is smeared over moccasins, kilts, and other parts of the paraphernalia to be worn, and cornsmut mixed with some of the "man medicine" made on Komók-totókya day is rubbed over the body. Then pink clay mixed with "man medicine" is smeared on the forearms, the calves, and the upper right side of the head. The chin is whitened, the rest of the face blackened.

By the time the painting is done, the snakes are dry, and they are put into two bags (one for rattlesnakes and one for other species), which are carried to the plaza and placed in the *kísi*. Very small snakes are not put into the bags with the others, any such being kept by the dancers, who sometimes carry them into the plaza in their mouths, with the head protruding. Any very large snakes that are to be reserved for certain men, at their request, are placed in separate bags. A message is sent to the Antelopes, who come out of their kiva and, as in the Antelope dance of the preceding day, dance four times around the plaza, stamping on the board and throwing meal on it. The Snake men follow in the same manner, and there occurs a period of singing, during which the two frater-

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ORAIBI SNAKE DANCE

nities stand in lines facing each other. One of the songs runs as follows:

Áyamo távaŋĕĕ ómŏ-kívĕĕ Sípapûni-násavĕĕ ómŏ-voŋya.
yonder west-in cloud house-at Sipapuni center-at cloud altar

Áyam-omĭĭ yóy-hölööma. A-pĕo yóy-nánaqûsa, nalŏnaŋû síwatŭ níkyaŋwû tûqŭŋaŋ-mánatû.
yonder up rain rise from there rain goes four younger sisters those rain-god maids

Pavá-toho kömá-am yóy-ûßi[1] mákyaŋo.
water cougar something-on-face rain shut there.

Pâ-tala-voŋya, mŭi-tala-va, ni-paípû-namûsa. Haía haía yo
water light altar moon light water ? that-way will be

Sĭlili, tímani, yóy-ûmûmû-tímani! Hiwaí! Lólomi![2] Hiwaí! Lólo, lólomi!
lightning thunder rain rumbling thunder

Áhai ûhai áyahi ya! Haíiyĕ haíiyĕ hĕahaí!||

Hápimĕ! Hápimĕ![3] Takázi, Saqá-pû, í-ŋûû, ítamûi taláhoi-nani kíki-nawita.
yellow corn blue corn my mother us waken will houses among

(Repeat ||-||)

"Yonder in the west, at the house of the clouds, at Sipapuni, center of the world, is a cloud-altar. Yonder, up there, rain is rising. Thence goes the rain, those four younger sisters, the Rain-god Maids. Water-cougar is there with something on his face, a streak of rain-clouds. Water-light altar, moon-light water, that way it will be. Lightning, thunder, rain-rumbling-thunder! *Hiwai!* Running water! *Hiwai!* Running, running water! Yellow Corn, Blue Corn, my Mother, will awaken us among the houses."

Soon the Snake men begin to move about without any particular order. The chief looks about in the crowd of spectators, and if he discovers a Snake priest who is not participating in the ceremony, he summons that man to enter the *kísi* and hand out the reptiles to the dancers.

While the Antelopes sing and shake their rattles, the Snake men in trios begin an extremely thrilling dance around the plaza. As each group arrives at the *kísi*, the dancer receives a snake, which he holds in his two hands and from time to time places about his neck or between his lips. The "hugger" dances close behind him with his left arm about the dancer's neck, and with his eagle-feather "whip" he constantly makes stroking motions over the reptile as if to pacify it. After being carried four times around the plaza, each snake is tossed aside, and the "catcher," who, not dancing, walks

[1] *Ûßi*, shut or locked. *Yóy-ûßi* refers to a black band of clouds presaging rain.
[2] *Lólomi*, an onomatope much used in songs, the sound of running water.
[3] *Hápimĕ*, a vocable commonly used as a prelude to the second stanza.

a few steps behind his two fellows, takes it up and grasps its neck between two fingers of the left hand. If there are so many reptiles that the catchers cannot hold them all, and usually this is the case, handfuls of the harmless species are given to the Antelopes, some of whom are noticeably distressed by this duty.

All the snakes having been handled in this way, an Antelope of the Horn clan draws a circle of meal on the ground and casts meal to the six world-regions, and the Snake Chief in like manner makes a superimposed circle. Then the reptiles are cast carelessly into the circle, and the Snake men rush wildly forward to seize handfuls of them at random, and dash away down various trails into the valley, arranging the snakes in a more orderly manner as they run. Very old men, after going down over the edge of the cliff, often relinquish their snakes to younger men. Before the dance it is decided in what quarter and at which of various shrines near the mesa each priest shall deposit his snakes. In the northern quarter the place is at the foot of the mesa among the rocks near the peach orchards; in the western quarter, near the shrine Chû-ki ("rattlesnake house"); in the southern, a little below the shrine of Tála-tûmsi ("dawn clans-woman"); in the eastern, on the mesa north of the Gap. Each of the four men who on the preceding night deposited pahos at the four cardinal points carries his snakes to one of those places where the prayer-sticks were left.

Meanwhile, the elderly men, and the boys who take no part in this distribution of snakes, form in line and, as at first, march four times around the plaza and then to their kiva. The Antelopes do likewise. The others, returning from the valley, go to the edge of the mesa west of Mó̧n-kiva, and there, the Snake men from the kiva having joined them, all bathe with the snake medicine, which has been boiling all day, and drink from another vessel. The medicine is an emetic and a purgative, and its purpose is to rid them of any evil influence of the snakes. After thus purifying themselves, they retire to the kiva and sprinkle snake medicine over every object that has been used in the rites. The Snake women bring food, and, taking the clothing the men have worn in the kiva, they carry it into the back street, dip it into bowls of medicine, wring it out, and bring it back. Each woman takes home from the kiva a cup of medicine, of which each member of her household takes a sip; and other women are permitted, but not required, to do likewise.

The priests as usual sleep outside the kiva, and the chief remains inside.

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ORAIBI SNAKE DANCE

(*d*) In the Antelope Kiva

The Antelopes no longer fast. On the preceding day, after the completion of their dance, they began to take their meals at home, though they spent the night in the kiva. Even on Tĭhŭni day they eat at home, and only their chief spends the night in the kiva. They do not participate in the ceremonial washing and vomiting, but after this has been observed by the Snakes the Antelopes go to the Snake kiva and obtain some of the medicine, of which they drink a little.

(*e*) Four Days of Purification

On the day after the dance, the Snake Chief takes up his *tĭponi* from the obliterated altar, and the members spew snake medicine over every article used in the ceremony. During four days and four nights the chief of each fraternity remains in his kiva as the completion of the long prayer for rain. It is expected that rain will fall within these four days; if it does not, the Hopi believe that there was some mistake in the performance of the rites. As the ceremony takes place in the midst of the rainy season, they are rarely forced to this explanation.

The connection between serpents and rain is easily seen in the fact that among primitive peoples, including the Hopi and many other American Indians, the symbol of lightning is a zigzag line, the conventionalized picture of a serpent.[1] From the similarity between the sinuous gliding of a snake and the broken course of a lightning flash came naturally the concept of serpents as messengers of the rain deities.

There are vestiges of a Snake ceremony at many other pueblos, including Acoma, Laguna, Sia, Cochiti, and other Rio Grande villages, as well as Zuñi. Mythology also gives a hint here and there of the former existence of the Snake dance at these places, and even history occasionally speaks. Thus, Espejo at Acoma in 1583 saw the Indians perform "many juggling feats, some of them very clever, with live snakes,"[2] and an illustration in Sahagun's *Historia* indicates that the Snake cult was practised in Mexico.

The Flute Ceremony

The Flute ceremony as performed at East mesa is in minor part an historical play dealing with the legendary encounter between the

[1] See Volume X, where the personification of lightning in the monster, double-headed serpent Sĭsiutl is plainly indicated.

[2] *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, Bolton ed., New York, 1916, page 186.

newly arrived Horn-Flute clan and the chiefs of the Bear and Snake clans, when the latter stopped the newcomers and demanded to know what they could do for the common good, if admitted to Walpi. In larger part however it is simply the rain-making rites which the new clan brought as its contribution to the ceremonial life of the community.

The fraternity comprises all members, male and female, of the Horn-Flute clan, as well as children of Horn-Flute men, and those whose houses or possessions have been struck by lightning. The principal officials are four: the Crier Chief, the Rattlesnake clan chief, Yóy-asi-taka, and the Flute Chief, who is always the head of the Horn-Flute people and, as such, the Houses Chief. The duties of Yóy-asi-taka consist in purifying any place that has been struck by lightning. When this phenomenon occurs, the people retire within their houses and there remain until he has finished his work. He at once goes to the place and sings, and on the following day some of the Horn-Flute people accompany him to the spot, when again there is singing of the Flute songs. This finished, the place is regarded as purified. The office is hereditary in the Cloud clan, the incumbent selecting a younger man whom he instructs in the duties of the position. At the winter solstice ceremony the five village officers appoint the successor of a deceased Yóy-asi-taka, but they always name the one whom the Cloud clan have agreed upon and whom the deceased official has himself originally selected and instructed. The Yóy-asi-taka owns a *típoni*, which, so far as can be ascertained, is used only in the Flute ceremony. The etymology of the word Yóy-asi-taka is said to be: *yóyaṇŭ*, rain; *ási*, to wash the head; *táka*, the one having; hence, "the one whose head is washed by rain." The four *típoni* of the officials of the Flute ceremony are used in making the altar.

The rites occur at the same time of the year as the Snake ceremony, but in the alternate years; that is, the smoke takes place on the fifth day after the appearance of Pá-mûya, the July-August moon, in the even-numbered years at Walpi and Mishongnovi, and in the odd-numbered years at Shipaulovi, Shongopavi, and Oraibi.[1] The Flute Chief is charged with the duty of observing the moon and summoning the others to the smoke.

The smoke is held in the house of the Flute Chief, who, after

[1] It is said that at the villages other than Walpi, the rising of the moon at a certain landmark on the horizon determines the date: and the date is not the same at Walpi as at the other pueblos.

From Copyright Photograph 1900 by Ed. Curtis

AWAITING THE RETURN OF THE SNAKE RACERS

[illegible] LAKE RAVEN

consulting formally with his three fellow officials, declares that the dance shall be announced for "the sixteenth day from the day after tomorrow." The usual announcement by the Crier Chief is made on the next morning, and then follow seven days without ceremonial activities.

Yŭ̈nya, Eighth Day

In the morning the Flute Chief, his Servant, and the three who were present at the smoke, assemble in the upper story of Kíkyamŭ, the house of the family of the Houses Chief, who is also the Flute Chief. This building, on the west street at the edge of the cliff, is the one in which the front wall of the upper story is lacking. The upper story is vacant in winter, but is occupied in summer by the family of the Flute Chief. He himself of course lives with his wife's family. In this room where the officials assemble are kept the *típoni* of the Flute Chief, the rattles used in the dance, and certain stone slabs on which are painted cloud designs. It is used just like a kiva. Those who enter spend the day and the night there, going out only for necessary purposes, such as obtaining food, which they bring to the house and eat there.

When the chiefs have seated themselves, the Flute Chief makes four pahos, which, when they have been consecrated by four songs, his Servant carries out and deposits in the four cardinal directions. The *típoni* of the Crier Chief, and those of the Rattlesnake chief, Yóy-asi-taka, and the Flute Chief, are set up in the order named. Later in the day a few men of the Flute society straggle into the room, and day by day, as the ceremony advances, more and more members assemble. During the night they practise their songs.

Sŭ́s-tala, Lŏ́s-tala, País-tala, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh Days

On each of these three days four pahos are made and consecrated in the usual manner, and deposited at shrines by the Servant.

Nalŏ́s-tala, Twelfth Day

Before sunrise, singing as they go, the three chiefs and all members who have thus far come to the ceremonial room carry to the housetop a gray fox-skin and the four sandstone slabs with painted cloud designs. These are about twelve inches square, and are respectively yellow, blue, red, and white. They are deposited around a central point, about three feet apart, yellow stone at the north, blue at the west, red at the south, and white at the east, according

to the Hopi orientation. In the centre, pendent from a stick held upright by a small heap of stones about its base, is the fox-skin, which represents the gray dawn. Then all return to the room below, where the usual pahos are made and consecrated with singing. The cloud stones and the fox-skin remain on the roof in position until the end of the ceremony.

Sûskahimŭ, Thirteenth Day

Ceremonial activities are confined to the usual work with pahos.

Komók-totókya, Fourteenth Day

The Flute Chief prepares four very short pahos, which the Servant disposes at the outskirts of the village. During the morning all men of the Horn-Flute clan go to Wípho spring to eat the midday meal, and then proceed in a body to a place near the spring Qásta-pa, where they pass the night in singing.

Totókya, Fifteenth Day

Early in the morning they move on to Qásta-pa and plant their pahos in the water, after which they start homeward, and at Tĕvĕskya, a traditional resting place of their clan in its migration, they stop to rest and smoke.

From earliest morning an Âlosaka personator has been on watch in the village. He goes to the mesa north of the Gap to look for the people who are expected, but soon comes back to the Gap and stands, like the mountain-sheep he personates, on the point south of it, and then returns to the village. His next observation is made from the cliff at the edge of Sichomovi, and his fourth from the north end of Walpi. In his observation at Sichomovi he finds the people making their stop at Tĕvĕskya, and in his last he sees them starting up an obscure trail said to have been followed by the Horn-Flute people in their original ascent of the mesa.

When the procession reaches the mesa it is met at the narrow trail into Walpi by the Rattlesnake Chief and the bear Chief, the former of whom draws a line of meal across the trail, signifying that the newcomers are prohibited from entering the village. The Rattlesnake Chief speaks: "*Taaí!* What have you to help the people along?"

"Nothing," answers the Flute Chief "We have just come. We have come from an humble life."

SNAKE JARS IN THE KIVA

The other objects, "Now we are having our Flute ceremony, and this is our Totókya.[1] We cannot let you in."

"But we want to come in. We will do nothing to cause your people trouble."

"Well, if that is so, and if you are willing to be the chief of this Flute ceremony, I will admit you. You must be my Houses Chief."

"*Anchaaí!* I will do this," the Flute Chief promises.

Then the same conversation ensues between the Bear Chief and the Flute Chief, after which the Álosaka sentry brushes aside the line of meal, and the Horn-Flute men pass on to the ceremonial room, accompanied by the Snake Chief and the Bear Chief. Songs are sung, and the chief of the newcomers, having now become the chief of this ceremony, places his *típoni* in front of those of the other three officials.

It is now the middle of the morning, and the Flute men eat their breakfast and then turn to making numerous pahos, which are to be deposited in every little gully and watercourse in the valley. The day is spent in this way, the night in singing to the pahos. During the night each goes to some man or boy and requests that on the following day he deposit the pahos at a certain place, and in payment for this service the Flute priest makes a paho for him.

Tíhŭni, Sixteenth Day

The men and boys who have been requested to carry out the pahos for the Flute priests come in the morning to Kíkyamŭ house, and receive the prayer-sticks, which the men deposit in arroyos far from the mesa, and the boys in the small dry watercourses near by.

The Flute race occurring on this morning is conducted almost exactly as the Snake race, which has been described.[2]

At midday all the Flute priests dress in their ceremonial robes and march down to Tawá-pa spring. At the other villages a flute-player, or several, if there be more than one capable of playing the instrument, accompanies the procession, but at Walpi there is no longer any one able to play the flute. The Flute Chief leads, and behind him, in single file, are two girls in white ceremonial blankets, with a small boy between them. The others, including the Crier Chief, Rattlesnake Chief, Bear Chief, and Yóy-asi-taka, follow in a throng, and behind all comes a man playing Warrior and whirling

[1] Note the discrepancy between this statement and the assertion of Horn traditionists that their clan brought the Flute ceremony with them.

[2] See pages150–151.

a bullroarer, in simulation of thunder. At the spring the pahos are planted [1] and songs are sung. Then a man is sent to a neighboring cornfield for stalks of corn and sunflowers, and soon, with wreaths of sunflowers about their heads and with cornstalks in their hands, they all start toward the mesa. Four times the Flute Chief stops to make cloud symbols of meal on the ground, and each of the two virgins and the boy throws a ball of cornhusks beyond the clouds. These represent the mud balls that are found in the arroyos after a freshet, and thus the act expresses the desire for heavy rains, which will form these mud balls. The Flute Chief arranges the three cornhusk balls in a row, pointing to the village, and with the little cornhusk handles directed upward. Then he marches on and the girls and the boy follow, each one picking up his ball by thrusting a black stick through the handle. After entering Walpi they repeat this act four times before reaching the plaza. As they march through the street, women snatch the cornstalks from their hands and the sunflowers from their heads.

At the plaza the Flute Chief enters a *kísi* (booth), and the others crowd together before it, with the girls and the boy in front, and sing all their songs, while the chief remains inside.[2] After the singing he leads the girls and the boy, and is followed by the others, to Kíkyamŭ house, where the costumes are removed.

The ordinary members of the society now go to their homes, but the four officials pass the next four nights in the ceremonial room. They are permitted to go about during the day, and to work if they wish. The fox-skin and the four stone slabs remain in position on the housetop during these four days.

Ceremony of the Magicians

The Yayá-wimi was a fraternity of workers in legerdemain. At the last ceremony of the society, about the year 1860, there was an unfavorable ending in one of their tricks, and the people in anger decreed that there should never be another public performance of the Yáya magic. The fraternity continued to exist, however, and initiates were received, meetings being held at intervals of two or three years. In 1907 Náka, an old man of the Kachina clan, died, and the *típoni* of the Yayá-wimi was buried with him. He was not

[1] At Mishongnovi the pahos are deposited by a man who walks down the stone steps that wall the spring until he is at the very bottom, where he thrusts the sticks into the mud.

[2] What he does in the *kísi* is not known. It is believed that he sprinkles his pahos with medicine.

From Copyright Photograph 1904 by E. S. Curtis

FLUTE DANCERS DRESSING AT KACHINA HOUSE

a member of the fraternity, yet, being the oldest man of the Kachina clan, he had constantly been urged by the Yáya priests to become their chief. But he had always refused, probably fearing that there might be an attempt to perform magic feats that would fail and cause the anger of the people to fall on him. Tsáza, the last member who understood how the tricks were accomplished, died about 1908.

The Yayá-wimi chief was of the Kachina clan, the second chief of the Reed, the third of the Badger; and the chief possessed a *típoni*, the second chief a *náchi*, and the third had charge of the medicine-bowl and the roots used in connection with it. The ceremony was a sixteen-day rite, occurring about the beginning of September at irregular intervals. Thus, at the conclusion of a performance the chief would say: "In two years [or three, or four, as the case might be] we shall meet again. In the meantime we will think only of rains and of good crops. Then after the rains and the harvests have come, we will assemble."

The Yáya priests fasted four days, beginning with Assembly day (Yŭ̆nya), and the public exhibition of magic occupied the last day. In the kiva they sat in four groups, those who understood sorcery occupying three corners, and the others the fourth corner; and each group decided what feat it would exhibit to the people.

In the evening of the last day, after the conclusion of their public performance, the Yáya chief addressed his men thus: "Now, my boys, you must all go out and endeavor to secure a woman. If you fail, you will have to forego sexual enjoyment the rest of your life." So departed all except the chief.

Although the sixteen-day ceremony for the exhibition of tricks occurred at irregular intervals, the fraternity met annually in the moon Öső-mûya, about the first of September, to generate fire by friction and to build four fires at the foot of the mesa as a supplication for warm weather. This rite was last observed about 1905. In 1910 the surviving members met to make pahos, but there was no one to direct them in the fire-making ceremony.

The following myth purports to account for the origin of the society.

A long time ago little boys from the village used to go to the water-hole about a mile and a half northeast of Walpi, and there build mud houses on the banks, and sometimes roll one another down the sides of the arroyo. As they tumbled down they would shout, "*Yáhu!*" [This is the cry uttered by the Yaya priests.] One day Spider Woman

appeared on the bank in the form of a spider and said, "Oh, my little children, are you playing here?"

"Yes, we are playing here."

"I will play with you," she said, and sat down with them.

A little later Mockingbird came up and addressed them, "Oh, my children, are you playing here?"

"Yes," they said, "we are playing here."

"Then I will give you some medicine, and you will have more spirit in your play." She gave them something, which they ate; and thereafter they played with greater abandon, scarcely knowing what they did. They rolled one another more recklessly down the banks of the arroyo, and nobody was hurt. They continued to visit that place each day, and though they ate no more of the Mockingbird's medicine, the effect remained.

One day came Mouse with the greeting, "Are you playing here, my children?"

"Yes, we are playing here," they answered.

"Well, try my way," said Mouse, and gave them medicine, which they swallowed. Then he proposed that they cut off one of his legs and one of his arms. They did so, and then replaced the members, but interchanged them; and they found that they could remove and replace them at will. Mouse advised them to try it on one another, and they were no less successful, even cutting off heads and placing them on backwards, and then adjusting them properly. Mouse finally told them to organize a fraternity, and with Mockingbird and Spider Woman he led them into a cave which the boys had dug out in the side of the arroyo and covered with brush. There Mockingbird taught them songs, and the others imparted the secrets of healing wounds inflicted in performing their magic feats. Spider Woman healed by spreading her web over the wound, and Mouse used herbs and roots. After the boys had practised for a time, they decided to exhibit their magic in the village. The three supernatural persons accompanied them and assisted in the first performance of the fraternity Yayá-wimi.

Surviving members of the fraternity give the following description of the Yáya magic, as they heard it from men who actually performed the tricks.

On the south side of the now-ruined kiva next to Ál-kiva was prepared a hole about thirty inches in diameter and three feet deep, and a Yáya priest, coming to the top of the ladder, held toward the sun a bunch of fibrous juniper-bark, which soon smoked and burst into flame. Then he ignited some wood in the excavation, and when stones had been laid on the fire, the members of one of the four groups appeared and ran hither and thither, casting down movable objects and pursuing one another, until at length all united in catching one

Dressing the Flute Maiden

of their number. They wore only a small patch of cloth in front, supported by a string about the waist. Another man having in the meantime lifted out the hot stones, the prisoner was thrust into the hole, the stones were piled in after him, and the remaining space was filled with earth. Then the relatives of the man gave chase to the Yáya priests and beat them with clubs, but the magicians were indifferent. To those who wept and upbraided them, they only made grimaces, or stooped with the buttocks toward them and making insulting gestures. After a time they unearthed the captive, whose fingers were found shrivelled and his feather ornaments consumed. On a white cotton robe they carried him to the kiva, tossed him down precipitately, and threw one another down into the kiva. There they sang over the body for a long time, finally bringing it to life, and, washed and dressed, he was exhibited to the people.

Then another group came out and played for a time. Suddenly they stopped, and gazed down into the valley at a scarecrow made of deerskin clothing and a sheepskin face. They began to call to it, and soon the scarecrow was seen to start toward the mesa, and in a short time, the magicians all the while urging it on, it ran up the trail and into the village. When it reached Ál-kiva, the Yáya priests met it and tried to talk to it, but it would not answer. Then they asked the man from whose field it had come if he had ever given it water or food. He of course answered that he had never thought of doing so. Then the women brought water and piki, and the scarecrow, after eating, asked, "What do you want with me?"

"Yes," the Yáya chief replied, "we want to talk to you."

"Yes, I have been down there all summer, and my master has been very hard on me. He has never given me food nor drink. You people who have scarecrows in your fields must give them water, for we stay in the fields all summer in order that no harm may be done to your crops. Now I am going back." So the scarecrow went back to its place in the cornfield, and the Yáya priests threw one another down into the kiva.

When the third group appeared, one went up to the highest housetop and began to call the Kachinas from Kisíu-va; and soon four Kachinas appeared at Tûkínovi, the knoll on the mesa north of the Gap. They brought to the plaza all kinds of seeds for the people to plant during the coming season, and little gourds containing water, and after receiving *naqáqŭsi* from the priests, they withdrew.

Now the last group left the kiva, and near the place where the man had been roasted in the pit they made a fire, first kindling a bit of bark by the rays of the sun. They boiled a pot of water, and from a little basket tray poured meal into it. One of the priests stirred the mush. He drew out his stick, and on the end of it was what appeared to be a ball of meal. He drew it upward, and hanging from the point of the stick was seen a cotton string, which, as he walked toward the plaza, constantly lengthened out behind him. Through the plaza and back to the fire he went, and the string continued to grow longer and longer behind him. Then the empty pot was exhibited. All the mush had become a cotton string.

The first performers, reappearing, went to the west street, and from a house about midway down the street they brought away a stew of hominy and rabbit meat. They wrapped the bowl in a white robe, and sang over it, shaking their rattles. From time to time they looked under the robe, and the fourth time a man put his hand under it and brought out a live rabbit, and then two more rabbits and three hares. They exhibited the empty pot, and a man carried the animals to the valley and released them.

The second group also went to the west street, and returned with a skull, which they placed just outside the kiva. They asked it to talk, and the skull said, "What do you want of me?"

"Yes," they answered, "we want you to sing."

The skull sang, and then said: "This is my song. That is the way I sing. You people must be good. You must not be cross, nor have bad feeling toward one another. That is the way you will live long. I have been cross, and have had bad feeling, and so I am living below in the valley." They tied some *naqáqŭsi* to the skull, and one carried it down to the valley, whence it had been brought on the preceding day.

The third set of magicians then took two belts from the women, and from some visiting men two of the small bands that men wrap about their calves and tie on the outside. These they placed between two white robes, and after singing, they lifted the cover. There lay two bullsnakes and two sidewinder rattlesnakes. The men attempted to distribute them among the owners of the belts and bands, but of course the snakes were not accepted. So they replaced the reptiles between the robes, and sang, and soon the belts and bands were uncovered. But the owners refused to touch them, so they were again transformed into snakes, which were liberated in the valley.

FLUTE BOYS, PRIEST, AND MAIDENS

The last group, coming out for the second time, ran about in the usual way and then began to call Salt Woman from the Zuñi Salt lake. In a little while a figure was seen in the distance. It came up the trail, a very old, short woman wrapped in a white robe. While she approached, the Yáya priests dug a small hole on the north side of Tsiváto, and encountered water about two feet below the surface. Salt Woman had a little tray containing salt, and all kinds of seeds, and when the priests asked her to do something to the spring so that they could obtain salt from it, she threw a handful of salt into the water. The priests thereupon removed from the hole a large quantity of salt, which they put into bags and distributed among their female relations, just as is done by salt gatherers returning from the Salt lake. By the time they had finished distributing the salt, there was no water left in the hole. They then gave pahos to Salt Woman, who went down the Dawn Point trail to Tawá-pa spring and there disappeared.

Other feats said to have been performed by the magicians were these: dancing barefoot on burning embers; leaping over the brink of the cliff and returning uninjured; calling a deer from the mountains to the foot of the mesa, where they attached prayer-feathers to its legs; transforming a long line of meal, which led across the housetops, into a cotton string, the string having been secretly laid out and covered with meal paste; removing their limbs, and fastening legs to shoulders and arms to hips; sailing through the air on a circular shield, which, pushed from the edge of the cliff, landed gently in the valley; causing the face of the most westerly of the Hopi buttes to become dazzling white, by extending toward it a rabbit-skin dipped in gypsum wash, and then, by a gesture, removing the paint from the mountain; washing the hands and arms in fire that streamed upward from a pot, and pouring it back from the hands to the vessel as if it were liquid.

With the exception of the last three, all these feats of the Yáya priests are readily explainable. Substitution and the use of lay figures and various pieces of apparatus were the commonest tools of deception. And if more circumstantial accounts of the feats of sailing through the air, painting the mountain, and washing in liquid fire could be secured, they would doubtless be found quite as simple as the others.[1]

[1] Since this was written, Létayu, an old man, says that the last of the magicians informed him the mountain was "painted" by confederates who at a prearranged smoke signal spread a large number of white blankets on its face.

The Powámŭ Ceremony of Purification

The purpose of the Powámŭ ceremony becomes apparent when it is stated that the name is derived from *powáta*, to purify ceremonially. Only a brief outline can be given here. This ceremony is the first, in point of time and elaborateness, of the performances in which Kachinas participate. The rites are presided over by the Powámŭ-moṇwi ("Powámŭ chief"), who always is a member of the Kachina clan. When the winter moon Powá-mûya becomes visible, he proceeds the next day to make pahos in Móṇ-kiva, with the assistance of the other members of the Powámŭ fraternity,[1] in which Kachina clansmen predominate. At noon one of the men takes the bundle of pahos and goes out, first to the north and then around the usual circuit, depositing them in various shrines as a supplication for snow and rain; and on his return a herald notifies the women in a loud voice that the Powámŭ fraternity has finished its work, and food is brought to Móṇ-kiva. In the evening all the people assemble in their respective kivas, and later a party of Kachina personators makes the rounds of the kivas until midnight, dancing in each.

Then, the women, children, and those men who are not members of the fraternity, having left the kiva, the fraternity dress one of their number as Ahŏhĭ Kafšína (sometimes called Wŭ-taka, old man), who with a tray of meal passes from one side of the kiva to another, smearing on each wall a perpendicular streak. After this invocation to the Four Chiefs, he removes his costume and the members sleep.

At the earliest dawn on the following day the personator of Ahŏhĭ Kafšína, accompanied by Powámŭ-moṇwi, goes to Wála (the Gap) and there dons his costume. The two carry some of the stalks of beans and corn which have been growing in Móṇ-kiva.[2] From Wála he starts up the trail just as the sun appears, the Chief preceding him. They go first to the two Hano kivas, and at each place a man comes up the ladder to sprinkle meal on the Kachina and give him a paho. The Kachina in turn presents from a bag at his side

[1] In this ceremony the Powámŭ fraternity meets as such only on this first day, at other times participating merely as members of Móṇ-kiva. The other ceremony of this fraternity is Nímaniw'ŭ, which occurs in August. Thus the Powámŭ fraternity opens and closes the long season of Kachina dances.

[2] The seeds are planted at the full of the Pá-mûya moon, which in 1911 was on December 28, and the plants are protected by occasional fires of brushwood. A few such fires during the day and night keep the underground room comfortably warm. During the Pá-mûya moon there is much frequenting of the kivas, especially of Móṇ-kiva, which for the reason just cited is warmer than the others. The cup game, *sosótûkpi*, is played, much weaving and beadwork are done, and many men and boys sleep there. Not only the members of Móṇ-kiva are to be found there, but others as well, for one may go freely from one kiva to another so long as no ceremonial rites are in progress.

Flute Dancers Approaching the Spring

a small, wrapped bunch containing two or three bean and corn stalks, and proceeds to each house inhabited by a civil or religious official, from whom he receives a paho, and to whom he gives not a packet of plants, but one of the loose stalks held in his hand. After visiting the houses of Hano, the Powámŭ Chief returns to his kiva, leaving Ahŏhl Kaßína to finish his rounds among the kivas and the houses of Sichomovi and Walpi, which he completes not long before noon.[1] In the evening of this second day, or at any time within the next four days, each adult male in the three villages brings up from the valley a quantity of sand, in which, placed in a small box in his own kiva, he plants a few beans. If a man fails to do this, it is taken as a sign that his crop in the coming season will fail to mature. During the first eight days the men are free to watch their boxes or pots of seeds in any way they please, but beginning with Yŭṇya day one must not lounge in the kiva nor have any appearance of idleness; for during the time of maturing crops and harvest one must be very industrious. Yet it is not necessary to remain all day in the kiva: one may come in only to look after his plants, but while inside one must appear to be busily engaged in work. In the evening, however, each male member of the kiva is expected to be present, and if any is absent, young men or boys dressed as Kachinas search him out. Then when all are assembled there is Kachina dancing in each kiva without masks and costumes, each personating whatever Kachina pleases him; and sometimes parties of dancers go from one kiva to another. This is the procedure on each night following Yŭṇya.

On Komŏk-totókya night all the members of one of the kivas, dressed in Kachina costumes without masks, visit all the other kivas in the three villages and dance, and after they have finished, the members of another kiva do likewise, until each kiva has sent its members to visit those of every other. Thus most of the night is spent. This rule is now not always observed.

Very early in the morning of Totókya, after but little sleep, the men "gather their crops," either cutting off the stalks or pulling them up by the roots. The crops are regarded as ripe on the night of Komŏk-totókya, previous to which time nobody may break a

[1] In recent years the young people have usually held a Buffalo dance (recently acquired from Pueblos of the upper Rio Grande) or some other pastime dance on this day, but formerly such was not the custom, as Pá-mŭya, the Pastime moon, is on this day really past. In 1912 a young man educated at various non-reservation schools and then entering earnestly into Hopi ritual, persuaded his elders that this modern way was wrong, and therefore a Kachina dance was held. It is at this time that the cup game, *sosŏtŭkpi*, must cease to be played until Pá-mŭya moon of the next year.

stalk; and if by accident this occurs, word is at once sent to Mŏṇ-kiva, and two men personating Tûṇwŭp Katšína ("whipping Kachina") and Tŭmas Katšína ("female Kachina") come thence with yucca-leaves and whip the offender. The crops having been gathered, the sand is carried out of the kiva, members of Tsiváto and of Ál-kiva burying theirs north of Tsiváto in a hole dug in alternate years by members of the two kivas. The others throw their sand over the cliff. It is said that Tsiváto and Ál-kiva bury theirs only because they have no convenient place to dispose of it otherwise.

During the days preceding Totókya the men are busy making *tíhû* (dolls representing Kachinas) for their girls, various toys such as rattles and shinnyballs for their boys, and moccasins for all. After the crops have been harvested and the sand buried, each man binds his plants in small sheaves, making one for each of his young children, and to each sheaf attaches the gifts made for the particular child to whom it will be given. Then from each kiva one or two men in Kachina costumes come out, laden with these bunches of plants and presents, which they distribute among the children, returning to the kiva as many times as may be necessary to complete their work. This is a considerable task on the memory, and sometimes a capable man cannot be found in the membership of a kiva, so that they must carry their sheaves to some other kiva and ask the Kachinas there to distribute them. Usually, but not always, the gifts are distributed only to children who have not been initiated into the Kachina order.

On the following morning at dawn the personator of Súyuk-wûhti ("ogress woman") takes his place below the mesa on the terrace near the sheepfolds east of the village, and kindles a small fire. After the distribution of gifts, the little children who have never been initiated into the Katšínamŭ are told to look over the cliff at the ogress, and they are warned that if they are not good she will carry them away and roast them in her fire. As the sun rises, Súyuk-wûhti starts up the trail Tála-teika, and approaching the top begins to mumble vague phrases, how the children are to be caught and roasted. In one hand is a large knife and in the other a curved stick with which the ogress of the myths is said to have caught children by the neck. The children flee in terror. Súyuk-wûhti goes to each kiva, last to that of which her personator is a member.

About nine o'clock all those in this kiva who have been appointed to personate Kachinas go from house to house through the village, and in the other villages to houses where Walpi men live, at each dwelling announcing that they have come for their children. If

DRESSING AT TAWÁRA SPRING, WALPI FLUTE CEREMONY

DRESSING AT TEWARA SEKING, WALI. FLUTE CEREMONY.

the inmates have no uninitiated children, they give the Kachinas food, such as piki and sweetened meal, and the maskers pass on; but uninitiated children must themselves give the visitors sweetened meal and meat. Then the Kachinas visit each kiva, and the chief of the kiva comes up the ladder to inquire, "What do you want?" They announce that they wish children to roast, but the chief, protesting that the children are good and should not be killed, offers them a small piece of meat, which they refuse, saying, "You have eaten all around it." So the chief gradually increases the amount, until at length they accept the meat and go on. They retire into their own kiva with the food. Later in the day there is a dance in the plaza, at the conclusion of which Sûyuk-wûhti declares that they are going to depart by way of the under world. So they go down into the kiva where they plant their pahos in the *sípapuni*[1] and remove their masks, and all the members of the kiva feast on the food that has been collected.

From sunset to about midnight the men in the kiva are engaged in preparing their costumes for the dance, in which half are to personate male Kachinas and half female, the latter wearing on their heads *sínqa*, which are large, artificial squash-blossoms made of cornhusks. A messenger from the directors of this part of the Powámŭ ceremony, that is, the kiva which is to give Nímaniw'û in the coming summer, now passes from kiva to kiva through the three villages, bidding the men prepare. Four times the word is taken, and then about midnight the members of the various kivas begin to come up the ladders and go to Hótsi-wa ("entrance gap"), the narrow place in the trail leading into Walpi from the north, where each kiva chief stretches along the trail a *pŏtavi* with the feathered end toward the village. The five *pŏtavi* are placed together, and then each chief and after the chiefs each member, sprinkles meal along them, uttering a prayer that the Kachinas may come along this trail.[2] Then they walk along the *pŏtavi* and stop at the beginning of the east street in Walpi, where, standing in groups according to their kiva membership, they practise their songs for a time, and then each group enters another kiva than its own and there sings and dances. Thus they go from one to another, until each group finally dances in its own kiva. This continues until dawn, at which time the women begin to come out into the streets and take their bowls of *píkami* out of the ovens.

[1] The covered hole that represents the opening through which the first people emerged from the underworld.

[2] The men of the kivas in Sichomovi and Hano perform the same rites near their own villages.

On the stoves in the houses are pots of meat, which have been cooking during the night, and the men now come home to their breakfast.

Initiation into the Katsĭnamŭ

In the winter following an initiation into the four fraternities that participate in the new fire ceremony, [1] Sŭskahimŭ day of the Powámŭ ceremony is devoted to the initiation of children of both sexes into the order of the Katsĭnamŭ. Every child must undergo this ordeal, which is in effect an initiation into the tribe. The parents of each child of appropriate age, that is, about seven to eleven years, selects a ceremonial father or mother for the little novice. Occasionally a ceremonial father, and not a mother, is selected for a girl, but this is not usual. In many cases the identity of this godparent has long been settled. Thus, the parents of a very sick boy may say to a certain man: "We will give this child to you. If he recovers, he shall be your child." In any case a boy is bound to join his godfather's fraternity in the new fire ceremony; but he becomes a member of his clansmen's or other relatives' kiva, not necessarily of his godfather's.

Not all women belong to a ceremonial society, but when the member of a woman's organization becomes godmother to a girl, her protégée is thus pledged to join that society when she arrives at a suitable age. While this is true at Middle mesa and Oraibi, a Walpi girl is conducted through the initiation by a paternal aunt, and she is not pledged to the aunt's ceremonial society.

Toward evening of Sŭskahimŭ these godparents lead their protégées to Mŏn-kiva, where are assembled all the members of this kiva as well as the other male and female relatives of the novitiates. Shortly before sunset three costumed and masked Kachinas — Tŭmas Katsĭna ("female Kachina") and two Tûnwŭp Katsĭnamŭ ("whipping Kachinas") — go from Katsĭn-ki ("Kachina house"), where they have been dressing, to Kĭkyamŭ house. [2] As they stand in the street, the woman of the house comes out to inquire why they have come. Tŭmas Katsĭna answers, "We have come to whip the children that are bad."

"No," she replies, "I do not want my children to be whipped."

"Yes, but they are bad, and we have to do it."

"Well, if you have to do it, whip me first."

Then they beat her on the back vigorously with bunches of yucca-

[1] See pages 115–116.

[2] The house in the west street, in which the Flute fraternity meets. See page 157.

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Entering the Spring, Walpi Flute Dance

leaves, and go thence to Móṇ-kiva, which they encircle four times, and Tűmas Kafsína leads the way down the ladder. Here the Powámű Chief asks, "Why have you come?"

"We have come to whip the children."

"No," says the chief, "we do not want our children whipped."

"Yes, but they are bad, and we must whip them," the Kachinas insist.

"Then, if you must whip them, whip us first."

But, refusing to whip him, because he is the father of the Kachinas (that is, he is the chief of the Kachina clan), they nevertheless go about and make the motions of whipping the principal men of Móṇ-kiva.

The godparents, with their children, are sitting in a row at one side of the kiva, and now one by one each takes his charge out before the two Whipping Kachinas, one of whom stands at each side of the altar, while Tűmas Kafsína is stationed behind it as if to prevent the frightened children from escaping. The ceremonial parent gives a pinch of meal to the Kachina whom he wishes to whip his child, who then stands before the altar and, slightly stooping, receives on the back four vigorous strokes with the bunch of yucca-leaves. Boys are stripped of all clothing, but girls retain their dresses. The screams of the novices are probably no less of pain than of fright. After the scourging of the children, all the men come forward one by one and are whipped.

The Powámű Chief now gives *naqáqŭsi* to the three Kachinas, who go up the ladder, march about the roof four times, and then proceed to Hófsi-wa, the narrow place in the trail from Sichomovi, after which they start to encircle the village four times. In the course of their progress, any one who wishes to be purified steps before them, gives a pinch of prayer-meal to either of the Whipping Kachinas, and stoops to receive four lashes. The passage around the village is designed to give the people an opportunity to avail themselves of this rite of purification, which is regarded as effective not only to drive off sickness but to induce spiritual and moral cleanness. At the conclusion of this lustration, the Kachinas go down to Kafsín-ki [1] and remove their costumes.

In Móṇ-kiva after their departure a man personating Kûwán Kafsína ("many-colored Kachina") appears from behind a curtain and distributes boiled corn among the novices, who are then led from

[1] Walpi and Sichomovi dancers use for Kafsín-ki a ledge between the mesa top and the terrace on the eastern side of the cliff, and Hano dancers use Wála (the Gap).

the kiva. During the next two days they have liberty of movement, but are not permitted to eat meat nor salt.

On Totókya night in the kivas the novices for the first time see the Kachinas unmasked, and learn that these are only men, not supernaturals. After the women have gone it is explained that formerly the Kachinas lived among the people, but since they have disappeared, it has been the custom to represent them in dances; and the novices are sternly warned not to reveal this to the younger children.

On the following day the godparents take the children home with them and have their women relatives wash the heads of the novices and give them new names, which completes the initiation into the Kaʃínamŭ. The initiates are now regarded as members of the tribe, and the boys have the freedom of the kivas and may participate in the Kachina dances, just like their elders. When a boy puts on his first Kachina mask he is again held by his ceremonial father, while a Kachina whips him four times.

Kachina Dances

The activities of the masked personators of the Kachina gods begin actually at the winter solstice ceremony, in which Soyál Kaʃina, whose cult was brought from the south by the Cloud clan, makes his appearance. Theoretically, however, the Powámŭ ceremony in February is the time when the Kachinas return to the village; and from that time until the July ceremony Nímaniwʻû (*níman*, to go home), the so-called Níman Kachina, or Farewell Kachina dance, the only ceremonies are the dances by the personators of these deities.

There are no prescribed dates for these performances, nor any prescribed number of them. Any man may inaugurate a Kachina dance, a favorite time for the announcement of such an intention being the winter solstice ceremony. If a man wishes to hold a Kachina dance during the coming summer, he addresses the men of his kiva on the subject, saying, "At about such and such a time I wish to hold a Kachina dance." He name the kinds of Kachina he wishes to have personated, and designates the men whom he has chosen for assistant, for song leader (*kŭkŭ́inaaiya*, starter), and for two assistant song leaders (one of whom will take the leader's place if he is unable to act); and, if a girl is required in the performance, he names his choice for the position. All of these are selected from the membership of the kiva, and when they have consented to act, it is settled that the dance will be held.

FLUTE DANCERS RETURNING TO WALPI

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THE DANCE FOR RAIN AT WALPI

On Totókya night of the winter solstice ceremony, when all the men are assembled in their respective kivas, these five or six leaders come out of their kiva (the man who is to hold the dance being last), and proceed to Móṇ-kiva, where they inform the assembly that at about a certain time, for example, the time of mature melons, they will give a certain kind of Kachina dance. "*Anchaaí!*" cry the men in a chorus of approbation, and the visitors file out and proceed to all the other kivas in Walpi, Sichomovi, and Hano.

If on the other hand the announcement is not made during the winter solstice ceremony, it may be done at any later time. In such case the one intending to hold the dance tells his desire to his kiva chief, who summons the members of the kiva for consultation. There is then no formal announcement to the public, who learn about the proposed dance by asking the kiva members the reason for their summons.

In most of these dances only one kind of Kachina is represented, and any one who has been initiated into the Kachina order may perform. Thus, if the giver of the dance decides that he will give the Hehéa Kaſsína dance, then all men who participate must personate the Hehéamŭ. But there is one dance in which all kinds of Kachinas are represented, or at least as many as there are available performers, namely, Soyóhim Kaſsína ("all-kinds Kachina") dance.

At least two weeks, and sometimes a full month, before the appointed time, the leaders and the dancers assemble daily in their kiva to practise songs and dancing; and from that time until the dance the leaders spend their nights in the kiva, although they are permitted to eat at their homes. It is said that ancient custom required all members of the kiva thus to pass their nights. Toward the end of this period of preparation it is announced in the kiva that the dance will be held on a certain day, which may be either four or seven days later. There is no public announcement. If the interval is seven days, these are named Sŭs-tala, Lŏs-tala, País-tala, Nalós-tala, Komók-totókya, Totókya, and Tíhŭni. If the interval is four days, they are Sŭs-tala, Komók-totókya, Totókya, and Tíhŭni.

On Sŭs-tala the chief and his assistants go from house to house and collect the masks that will be required in the dance. These are individual property, and are borrowed by the dancers. Anybody has the right to make Kachina masks of any kind. The painting is renewed each time they are used. The days are spent in the kiva in practice of the songs and dancing. On Komók-totókya or Totókya two men are sent to the timbered hills, and on Totókya they bring

back a large spruce bough or a small spruce tree, which is laid beside the fireplace along with the baskets of pahos. The chief and his assistants and two men called *namátŭ* ("fathers"), who, unmasked, lead the dancers from and to the kiva without themselves dancing, make pahos and *naqáqŭsi* on Totókya day, and pile them in trays. When the spruce is brought in, they tie the *naqáqŭsi* to its twigs. There is no sleeping on the night of Totókya.

About midnight the singing ceases and the chief, still sitting, says: "Tomorrow our friends, the Kachinas, will come from Kisíu-va, and they will come with all kinds of seeds and will bring good rains and lightning and thunder, so that the ground will be moistened; and at the time of planting we will plant our seeds and they will grow, and the Four Chiefs will again bring rain on them, so that they will grow and in time produce fruits, which will mature; and our children will eat the fruits, and when they have had their fill we all will eat; and what is left will mature and we will gather it and have it for food, and will come to this time of the year again. Everybody must live a long life with his children." Then each of the other leaders repeats a similar prayer, and the other men respond with such words as: "Yes, so let it be. We all will have this mind and work together, that we may have good fortune." Then after smoking they go into the plaza, to cast meal toward the home of the Kachinas and address a silent prayer to them. They dance once, but as they are not masked, the people are not expected to observe them. It is now almost daybreak, and they return to the kiva and begin to paint their dance kilts. If the weather is not too cold they go to Kafšín-ki ("Kachina house") to dress; and if dawn is at hand they must go there regardless of the temperature, for if the people should see the Kachinas coming out of the kiva, the pretense of supernatural beings coming from the home of the Kachinas would be destroyed. After painting themselves and donning their masks and other paraphernalia, the performers dance on the ledge of rock at Kafšín-ki and then start up Dawn Point trail. Entering Walpi from the north, they dance in single file before the first houses in the east street and then walk on to *kŧsonvi* (the plaza), where they dance. Then passing on they dance around Mǫ́n-kiva, proceed around the kiva roof, and return to the plaza, where they dance agian. Then the two "fathers," one after the other, repeat: "Now, last night we found you here, and the people here see you and are glad. We do not want you to go home yet. We want you to come and dance all day and amuse the people." They lead the dancers back to Kafšín-ki.

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OFFERING SACRED MEAL, MISHONGNOVI FLUTE DANCE

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Offering Sacred Meal, Mishongnovi Flute Dance

Now the women carry food down to Kaʃšín-ki, and after the dancers have eaten, the two "fathers" are invited to eat. The performers then smoke and come again to dance in the plaza, going through various evolutions, and return to Kaʃšín-ki. Thus they enter the village and retire to Kaʃšín-ki several times before noon, at which time they go to the narrow part of the trail at the north end of the village, where, by recent custom, they rest and eat the food brought by female relatives of the chief of this dance.

During the preliminary preparations for the ceremony the chief appoints a certain man to be the principal clown, and four or five others to be his fellows, and these meet in their own kiva to plan their conduct during the dance. The clowns go unmasked, and appear in every Kachina dance except the first and the last of the year, that is, Powámŭ and Nímaniw'û. On Totókya they make pahos for each Kachina that is to be personated, and in the night bring these offerings to the kiva where the Kachina performers are assembled. They spend the rest of the night there. When the dancers leave the kiva just before dawn, as described above, to go down to Kaʃšín-ki, the clowns suddenly appear beside them at the plaza and utter a great shout, as if to frighten them. The dancers go on, and the clowns retire to their own kiva, not to reappear until noon. Then while the dancers rest in the trail north of the village, along come the clowns chattering and gesticulating, and apparently not seeing the Kachinas. Suddenly they become aware of their presence and run up to them, gathering round, pointing, and talking excitedly. Their actions indicate that they have found some very valuable thing, and they urge the Kachinas not to depart, reiterating many times their opinion that these new friends will give them abundant food.

The afternoon the Kachinas spend in dancing, returning to Kaʃšín-ki after each dance, and in the intervals the clowns go about playing their pranks and amusing the people. It is late afternoon when the dancing ends. The two "fathers" then ask the Kachinas to stand a while, and they pass among them, giving a *naqáqŭsi* to each, the clowns following and doing likewise. Each of the "fathers" and then each of the clowns takes his turn in addressing the Kachinas, somewhat as follows: "Now, we have had the dance all day, and we are tired. I want you to go back to your home and ask your fathers and mothers to send us rain. We think we have earned it. May all live, and may you go home happily, taking care of one another as you go along. That is all." The Kachinas then file away, the

"fathers" and the clowns sprinkling them with meal as they pass, and at Katsĭn-ki they remove their masks and bathe before returning to the village. The clowns resume their clothing in the kiva, and divide the food which their paternal aunts have given them in the plaza.

On the following day the Kachinas go to the kiva, and all the food left from yesterday is distributed among them, and on the fourth day the chiefs of the dance gather in the kiva to smoke and talk about the ceremony, congratulating one another if rain has fallen, or mourning if it has not. In the latter contingency the man who gave the dance is regarded as an unlucky man.

This is the general procedure in any Kachina dance except Powámŭ, but of course each kind of Kachina has its own songs and its own style of dancing. All songs, however, refer to rain, seeds, and crops. Some have Zuñi words, others Keres; and Tasáp Katsĭna ("Navaho Kachina") has some songs with Navaho, others with Zuñi or Hopi words. Zuñi is the predominating foreign language in Kachina songs, a fact which points to that pueblo as the source from which the Hopi derived the cult.

Ceremony of the Departure of the Kachinas

The announcement of Nímaniw'ŭ, the ceremony that marks the close of the season of Kachina dancing, is made when the sun, after the summer solstice, has reached a certain point north of a gap in a mesa to the eastward. The Powámŭ Chief, noting this position of the sun, summons the members of his society, and they smoke formally. They instruct the Crier Chief to make the usual announcement on the following morning, that on the sixteenth day from the day after tomorrow they will dance; the intention being that on the last day, the day of public dancing, the rising sun shall appear exactly in the middle of the gap above mentioned. Sometimes the calculation is slightly at fault.

On Yŭnya the members of the fraternity, who include women as well as men, assemble in Mŏn-kiva. What they do there during the next eight days besides making *saqá-vaho* is said to be unknown outside the fraternity. Male members sleep in the kiva, but the women do not, and though all take their meals there, none is compelled to remain inside all day.

Each of the kivas takes its annual turn in charge of the dancing in this ceremony. It was given in 1911 by the membership of Mŏn-kiva, and in the following years by Wiqálvi, Násavi, Ál-kiva, and

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SÚMAIKULI KAʼTSÍNA AT HANO

Domaikua Kaffirs at [illegible]

Tsivâto successively, and in 1916 the duty fell again to Mǒn-kiva, beginning once more the progress from the south to the north end of Walpi.

On Sûskahimŭ day the one who has been chosen for chief of the Kachinas goes about collecting the Kachina masks from various houses, and the dancers begin to paint them afresh and to renew the feathers and other appendages, an occupation that continues up to the end of Totókya, as the labor involved is considerable and comparatively few of the men are competent to paint. The others make Kachina dolls for the girls, and bows and arrows for the little boys.

The members of the presiding kiva spend Totókya night awake, part of the time practising singing, and before dawn they go uncostumed to the plaza and dance, and then return to the kiva. Then if daylight is not too near at hand, they don their costumes in the kiva and go down to Katsín-ki, but if there is danger that they might be observed they carry their costumes down and dress there. They return to the village, and the day passes with various public dances by the masked characters.

Ceremonial Planting and Harvesting

Swelling of the neck is believed to be caused by the god Másôŭ, and when such a case arises, one of the men who personate this deity is summoned. He opens the affected part and sucks out the pus, and the person thus cured becomes empowered to personate Másôŭ. The manner in which one may get this disease from Másôŭ is illustrated by the following incident:

Mómi, a priest of Másôŭ, in the course of his ceremonial duties had to make a circuit of the mesa on four successive nights, and as he was a very old man, partially blind, and the nights were very dark, his task was a difficult one. Héya, meditating on the old man's blindness, thought that he would like to take the place of Mómi and relieve him of his task. Of course he was not able to do this, but the mere thought was immediately known to Másôŭ, who therefore sent the swelling of the neck as a sign that Héya was to be one of his priests; and it then became necessary for Héya to personate the god four times in a ceremonial planting of corn for men of good standing.

Such an occasion is announced by the Crier Chief during the winter solstice ceremony, when many other ceremonies also are announced. Four days before the planting, the personator of Másôŭ goes into retirement in his kiva, and usually another Másôŭ man

retires into his own kiva at the same time. During the next four days he remains there, eating only once a day, and even then partaking only of gruel, and each night he passes around the village, starting at the shrine of Másôû and coming up to the mesa by the trail from Tawá-pa, and deposits pahos to the god at various places. When there are two priests acting, one follows the other at a distance of about four hundred yards. The first night they travel in the valley, the second along the foothills, the third along the first terrace, and the fourth on the mesa itself just outside the village.

The man who is to personate Másôû may, if he choose, request the members of any kiva to assist him, and he then passes his four days of partial fast in that kiva, regardless of his own kiva membership. Then when he makes his nightly rounds, the members of the chosen kiva must perform a Kachina dance, first on the terrace near the ruin Kisakobi, then on the level next above the ruin, on the third night at a still higher level, and finally on the mesa itself. Each night after making his round the Másôû silently creeps up on the dancers and utters a shout, as if to frighten them, thus imitating the fabled acts of the god who lived there when the first clans came. The shout terminates the dance. On the day before the ceremonial planting a rabbit hunt is held, and the meat is eaten by the men of the kiva to which the Másôû belongs, while the skins are used to make his mask.

On the morning following the fourth nightly circuit the man whose corn is to be ceremonially planted goes to his field, and many accompany him. Spectators from the other Hopi pueblos are usually present, and occasionally they assist in the planting. About noon the Másôû priests, having again partaken of their daily gruel, descend the trail to the ruin Kisakobi and there don the rabbit-skin Másôû masks and old native dresses. Each has a basket, a deerskin bag filled with seeds, and a club about ten inches long and two inches in thickness, which is hollow and filled with seeds of all kinds known to the Hopi farmer. They proceed to the field, arriving there in the early afternoon, and at sight of them the people scatter and run away, simulating great alarm. The Másôû men plant a few hills of each kind of seed, and now and then they seize hold of those who approach out of curiosity. When it is time to start homeward, the people are pursued by the Másôû men, and sometimes they fire a gun, at the sound of which the Másôû men fall as if killed by the shock. In the village men variously costumed run through the plaza, and the two give chase, striking at them with their seed-filled

BUFFALO DANCE AT HANO

clubs, and any man who is struck falls as if dead, and they strip him of his costume. About sunset a gun is fired, and they fall. Four men lift each personator of the god, carry him to the western edge of the mesa, and pretend to throw him over the cliff toward the shrine of Másôŭ; but actually they lay him on the edge, and then withdraw. The Másôŭ men then rise and go down the trail to remove their costumes and to wash, and then return to the kiva, where the female relatives of their fathers have provided food. In the meantime the man whose field was thus planted is giving a great feast to the people, beginning immediately after the return from the field. On a recent occasion this feast required fifteen to twenty sheep and a thousand pounds of flour.

The same rite is occasionally observed when the people are harvesting their crops, or are merely gathering edible wild herbs. In such a case the ceremony must be publicly announced, and must be preceded by four days of partial fast and four nights of encircling the village by the personator of Másôŭ, and when the people go to the harvest, he pursues them with shouts, and they flee. Thus is represented the ancient genius of the place defending his crops from the newly arrived Hopi clans.

Those who have personated Másôŭ compose Más-wimi ("Másôŭ fraternity"); but it seems that this society never held meetings nor performed a ceremony. On account of the arduous duties of this office in travelling among the rocks and along the edge of the cliffs in darkness, men are usually loathe to fill it. The people are very careful, when the personators of Másôŭ are dressing, not to approach them, for if any one were to observe them at such a time, he would be seized and required to act in the character of the god. The Crier Chief issues a warning to pass on the other side of that locality while the Másôŭ men are dressing.

Origin of the Owákûl-wimi

At Hómlĕwiwiuta, not far from Awatobi, lived two little orphan girls whom everybody disliked. One day, wandering about on the mesa in their daily search for fuel, they saw a beautiful butterfly, and as it was not yet the season for butterflies they followed it as it fluttered away, alighting here and there and apparently waiting for them. All forgetful of their fuel, they at last came to Samó-tsomo ["giant-yucca knoll," about four miles up Jeditoh cañon], where among the giant yuccas the butterfly disappeared. They searched diligently, and discovered a hole in the ground, whence came a voice

inviting them to enter. Inside they were kindly greeted by the people who sat there, and after they had eaten, the chief said: "We have known about you. We know that you are not liked by the others, and that you have been longing to enjoy pleasures like theirs."

"It is true," said the girls.

The chief continued: "That is why the butterfly came for you. For we are Butterfly people. When you go home you will make four *naqáqŭsi* and a *pŏtavi*. Take them to the Crier Chief and tell him to announce a dance in eight days. This will be Owákûl-ti ['Owákûl dance']." He told them how to name the days of the new ceremony, and said that on Yŭ̃ṇya day others should be given the privilege of joining. Finally the Butterfly people dismissed the orphans with melons, watermelons, and pahos.

That night the two girls made four *naqáqŭsi* and a *pŏtavi*, securing the feathers and the string by stealth from their grandfather, with whom they lived, and took them to the Crier Chief. His wife, displeased at their presumption, grunted and said nothing, but the Chief himself invited them to sit down, and reproved the woman, saying: "These girls are not without some reason in coming to the house of the Crier Chief. Give them food." So she unwillingly placed food before them, and after they had eaten, the Crier Chief said: "*Taai!* What is it?"

They gave him the *pŏtavi*, the *naqáqŭsi*, and some meal, and answered: "*Owĕ!* The Owákûltŭ will finish their *wimi* [ceremonial rites] in eight days. So we would like you to tell our children about it."

"*Anchaai!*" exclaimed the Crier Chief. Then the two little girls went home.

At an early hour, when the boys and young men were lounging on the housetops and on the edge of the cliff in the manner of the ancient people, the Crier Chief appeared, and they said to one another: "Now our father has something for us. What will it be? See the *pŏtavi!*" Then, just as the sun appeared, he made the announcement, but when the name Owákûltŭ was mentioned, the people were perplexed, for none understood the word.

On Yŭ̃ṇya the two little orphans went into the kiva, and when the people learned of this they laughed and scoffed, thinking that this could be nothing more than children's play. As the day progressed, a little girl of the Tobacco clan leaned over the coping and looked down into the kiva. The two orphans said, "Come in." And the Tobacco girl joined them. Her parents laughed and teased

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An East Mesa Girl

her about it, not displeased, but amused. All night these three remained in the kiva, and on the following night an old man who lived close to the kiva took up his pipe and tobacco-bag, announcing his intention of joining them, and to his wife's reproaches he replied: "Well, I am going! They can do nothing without a man." So he took his pipe and his blanket to the kiva.

In the morning they went to their homes to procure food, and the old man brought meal balls, the girl a stewed rabbit, and the orphans the melons and pahos of the Butterfly people. When the old man saw the melons he smiled broadly, and said to himself, "I thought there was something in this!" After they had eaten, he gathered up the remnants and carried them in a bowl to his wife, who in great surprise exclaimed, "They must be little witches!" But he said: "Witches do not like melons. They want things that are bad, but these two little girls are wonderful. That is why I have told you not to offend them." So the old woman and all her household entered the kiva that night. The orphans said there was nothing to do but remain awake all night.

On the next day, which was Sûskahimŭ, they sent the old man for some greasewood sticks and yucca-leaves. When he had sharpened the sticks, the girls drove them into the kiva walls for pegs.

The following day they sent him for two long juniper shoots. In the evening an old woman peeped down into the kiva, saw them eating melons, and immediately went home, got some food, and came down the ladder to join them. Still the people in the kiva were wondering what they were to do, and outside the villagers were still joking and scoffing. On the evening of Totókya the Crier Chief came and was received kindly. He remained and smoked. All this time the Butterfly women had been preparing for the dance, making many trays and dance costumes, as well as the *tiponi* and the other sacred things for the society, and now, shortly before midnight, they started from their home and soon reached the kiva. Young men sleeping outside saw many strange women entering the kiva, and wondered. The Butterfly women brought with them a bundle, and when all were seated their chief asked, "Are any Tobacco people here?" They told her that the little girl and the old man were of that clan, and he at once filled a pipe for the Butterfly chief, while the girl filled one for the two orphan chiefs of the society.

Then, the smoke finished, the Butterfly women opened their bundle and revealed the painted sticks and other objects which now make up the altar of the Owákûl-wimi, and after hanging on the

pegs in the wall the ceremonial clothing and trays, they mixed medicine in a bowl and erected the parts of the altar, singing as they worked. The remainder of the night they passed in giving instruction in the songs and dances for the following day.

Early on the morning of Tĭhŭni each person in the kiva, Butterflies as well as others, washed her own head, then all went out to scatter meal, offering the usual morning prayer, after which they began to dress for the dance. The people of the village were in a state of wonderment about the strange newcomers in the kiva, but still they doubted that this society of the two orphans could have any serious import. At sunrise the dancers went to the plaza, and there danced in a circle. Behind them went two girls called Owákûlmana ("Owákûl girl"), who rolled basketry trays along the ground and threw feathered corncobs after them. After the dance, all returned to the kiva, and the Crier Chief told the old man to command the people to bring food and cease to utter reproaches against the two girls. Throughout the day the dance was repeated at intervals, and soon after nightfall the Butterfly women departed, leaving the objects that compose the altar of the society.

While the Owákûl society is known as a "child's society" (*Ɓakówimi*), this term refers only to its mythical institution through the medium of children. For the same reason the term is applied to Yayá-wimi, a fraternity of elderly men.

A female may join this society at any time of life, either before or after marriage. Men also may join, but they take no part in the public dancing. There are several male members in each women's lodge, their presence being regarded as necessary because the women are not used to being in a kiva and the men have certain duties to perform, such as smoking, gathering wood, caring for the fire.

The purpose of the ceremony is to bring rain and good crops. At East mesa it is not performed annually, nor even at regular intervals, being given only at the request of some male member, who thus obligates himself to have the dance performed four times in all, and each time he will officiate as chief. His appearance in public is limited to leading the procession of women into the plaza and to asperging the medicine-water toward the six world-regions. At Oraibi the ceremony is said to be biennial.

The society, as the myth indicates, originated at Awatobi, and was introduced into the present Hopi villages after the destruction of that pueblo.

The Mazó-wimi

The founding of the Mazó-wimi in Walpi occurred in the following manner:

Among the survivors of the destruction of Awatobi was a *hóva* (berdache). The *típoni* of the Mazó-wimi was in the possession of this youth's family. After the destruction of the pueblo he went back to search among the ruins, and in the house he found the *típoni*, which he decided to take to some village, believing that because of this sacred object he would be protected. He took it to Walpi and gave it to the Rattlesnake clan, because they were the chiefs at that place; and he said that the Rattlesnake women should be the chiefs of the society. "So long as the Rattlesnake people will care for this, the Mazó-wimi will continue," he said. "But when they do not care for it, the society will pass away."

The purpose of the ceremony of this women's society is the bringing of rain. It is very difficult to secure information about it, because of the belief that revealing its secrets will cause one's body to break out in a rash, the immediate cause of which, it is thought, is a small worm.

At the Smoke that precedes the sixteen-day rites three persons are present: Wíki, an old Rattlesnake clansman, and two women, Sáha of the Firewood clan and Káṇya of the Reed.[1] It occurs four days after the conclusion of the ceremony of the Lakón-wimi.

The Smoke is followed on the next morning by the public announcement, and then after the customary interval of inactive days, which bear the usual names, comes the Assembly (Yŭṇya). The members, men and women, do not have to spend the entire day in the kiva, but they take their meals there. The women attend to their usual housework. In the evening all assemble in the kiva and practise the songs which they will sing in their public dances, interpolating jokes at the expense of the several Wŭwûsimtŭ. For that fraternity and the Mazó-wimi regard each other as brother and sister societies,[2] and just as the former in their public dances make sport of these women, so the latter now jeer at the Wŭwûsimtŭ. The night is passed in the kiva by both men and women. The altar

[1] In 1912 Wíki and Sáha had died since the last performance, and as Káṇya was the only old member of the society it was somewhat doubtful if the rites would ever be repeated.

[2] The only explanation offered for the statement that the Wŭwûsim-wimi and the Mazó-wimi are brother and sister societies is that they came from the same place, that is, Awatobi. This is hardly a satisfactory explanation, inasmuch as the Ál-wimi and the Tó-wimi also originated there, yet they are not called brothers by the Mazó-wimi.

is erected on Yŭñya. There are, it is said, no images representing supernatural beings, nor any painted slabs such as are used in the altar of the Owákûl-wimi. The principal object in this altar is the *típoni*. The next four days are spent in the same manner as is Yŭñya.

In the public dances occurring on Píkamnovi the women dress like male personators of the Kachinas, the lower legs being bare and painted. They go from Ál-kiva in the morning, and dance in the plaza somewhat like the dancers of the Owákûl-wimi. They carry cornstalks, which at the end of the dance they throw to the spectators. In the other dances later in the day each woman carries in each hand a *mazó-paho*, which is a slab of wood about two feet long and four inches wide, painted with symbolical figures.

On Sŭskahimŭ, Komók-totókya, and Totókya, the women come out of their kiva several times daily, dressed in various fantastic costumes, and go through the village making sport of the Wŭwûsimtŭ.

TRADITION AND MYTHOLOGY

ORIGIN OF THE AWATOBI FRATERNITIES AND THE ÁLOSAKA CULT[1]

Long ago[2] at Awatobi there was a Crier Chief who had a daughter, but no sons. His planting and his hoeing were all finished, but when the crops were ripening, the crows began to do damage. He could not spend all his days watching the field, because he was much of the time embroidering ceremonial robes. He watched in the field in the morning and embroidered in the afternoon.

One day he asked his daughter to watch in the field while he worked on his robe, and she consented. He carried a jar of water down into the field, which was some little distance from the village, and gathered fuel, and after kindling a fire he returned home. So the girl went to the field, taking piki and *qíp-tosi* [white corn boiled, then parched and ground into meal, which is mixed with water and used as a beverage]. She roasted some corn, and as she sat in the shade of the little booth eating, a man came to her. When she looked up and saw him, she said, "Eat!" They ate together. The man's body was smeared white with gypsum, and he was dressed just as the new members of the Horn fraternity now dress. After they had eaten, they began to play, pursuing each other in the cornfield, and hiding from each other. At evening the youth said he must go home, and the girl asked, "Where do you live?"

"Oh, just a little way to the west," he said.

"All right, come again tomorrow," she invited.

After the youth had gone the girl went home, feeling very happy. She told her father that she would go into the field the next day, so again on the morrow the Crier Chief went out

[1] Narrated by Yóywûnŭ, of the Walpi Reed clan.

[2] Traditions are called *wŭyálvaiyi* ("old-man talk"), and, being regarded as true throughout, are opened with the word *yáhîstato* ("long ago").

Tales recognized as inventions for the amusement or instruction of the audience, even though the invented elements are added to a groundwork of fact, are called *tûwûsi* ("story"), and the Walpi narrator invariably begins with the exclamation "*I-tûwûsi* ('my story')!" The audience respond, "*Oté* ('yes')!" At Middle mesa and Oraibi such tales begin with the term *Álíksai* (*alí*, delightful, the exclamation with which one contemplates good food)!"

Simple folktales, usually regarding animals and children and teaching a moral lesson, are distinguished as *ßakó-tûwûsi* ("child's story").

to the field with water, and kindled a fire. Again the youth appeared just as the maid was beginning to eat, and as before they ate together and played among the corn. That evening she told him, "Tomorrow I will go with you."

"All right," he agreed. "If you are willing to go with me, you may do so."

When the girl arrived home she told her parents that she was going away with a young man, and they consented, for it was their desire that she marry, in order that their son-in-law might help them in the field. So during the night they prepared meal, and early the next morning the maid started for the cornfield. When she reached the valley, the youth joined her, and together they started westward.

She was carrying the meal on her back, and when she became weary they stopped at a small butte in the valley and rested. When they reached the Little Colorado [Palá-vaya, "red river"] she was so exhausted that she could go no farther, and the youth took up the burden and carried it to the mountains east of San Francisco mountains. As they neared the hills, the girl felt a desire to defecate, and stepped aside. To her Spider Woman cried out: "Do not defile me! Go a little farther!" So the girl moved. Then Spider Woman gratefully said: "My poor grandchild, you are going with a bad man. He intends never to bring you back. But we can arrange it so that I will go with you and help you. Place me behind your ear." She then gave the girl four turkey-feathers and some medicine, and the girl placed her behind her ear and returned to her husband.

They went on, and near the butte Álosak-tûqi ["Álosaka mountain"] they passed through many cornfields, in which were men at work. As soon as these men saw them coming, they would run toward their home in the butte to carry the news that their uncle was bringing a wife. These were Hehéamû [singular, Hehéa, a Kachina represented as extremely uxorious].

When the young man and his wife reached the top of the hill, she saw a lake. [There is water at the top of this volcanic peak.] From the water projected a ladder. The man made a ball of meal and rolled it toward the ladder, and the water parted. They passed through without wetting, and descended the ladder, and in the house below they found Hahaïi-wûhti, the mother of all the Kachinas. She invited them to enter, and took the burden of meal and set it away. Next she placed food before them, and while they ate, Spider Woman whispered, "Give me some food." So when nobody was looking, the girl fed her. Then Spider Woman told her to eat all she could hold.

It was evening. Hahaïi-wûhti had the Hehéamû dance for the entertainment of the bride, and after this was over, the people in the house began to make up their beds, and the girl waited for them to prepare one for her. After they had finished, Hahaïi-wûhti told one of the Hehéamû to open the door of the north room, and the girl went in. She expected to find wildcat-skin robes, but there was nothing but ice. Spider Woman said, "Lie on two of the feathers I gave you, and place the other two above you." When she had done so, the feathers became feather robes, and she slept warmly during the night.

The next morning while the Hehéamû were eating their breakfast, Hahaïi-wûhti said to one of them: "Open the door of the north room and throw that girl away. I think she must be dead by this time." But when he opened the door and peeped in, he saw that she was alive, and closing the door he reported this to the others. The woman said: "What kind of girl is she? She is not yet dead! Bring her out." She was led out, and they gave her the remnants of their meal. Then Hahaïi-wûhti brought from the north room a basketful of ice, which she poured on the mealing stones and bade the girl grind. But the ice only rolled up and down and would not be ground. Then Spider Woman whispered, "Take some of the medicine I gave you." The girl chewed some of the medicine, rubbed it on her hands, and spat on the ice, and when she began to grind, the ice soon was melted. She dipped the water up with a gourd and poured it into a jar that had been set before her.

All day there was nothing to do. She waited for orders from the woman, who, however, spoke to her only to scold. She received no food. When evening came, she expected that they would give her food again and dance for her, but she was disappointed. They made up their beds, and this time sent her into the west room, where she found nothing but ice. But she knew what to do, and using the feathers she slept warmly all night. In the morning the events of the previous morning were repeated, except that this time she received icicles to grind. These she melted with her medicine.

The third night she spent in the south room, where also there was nothing but ice, and in

the morning she was given hailstones to grind. The fourth night she was put into the east room, again in the midst of ice, and the following morning received sleet to grind. When this was done, Hahaíi-wûhti for the first time was glad and thanked her for having finished this hard labor, and called her daughter-in-law.

The girl remained in the house four days longer, during which time they prepared ceremonial robes and moccasins for her, and her husband taught her songs now used by the Horn fraternity, all of which are concerned with rain and the raising of crops. On the fourth day they filled baskets with corn and other seeds, and earthen jars with the water from the ice she had ground, and in the evening they all started for Awatobi.

On the morning of this day, the eighth since she had left home, her father stood on the mesa at Awatobi watching the mountains to the south. He saw a streak of clouds forming, and he said, "I think my daughter is coming home." Soon rain clouds were seen approaching. These were the Kachinas. The end of the rainbow rested first in the gap in the long mesa south of Walpi, and the Kaſsînamū, led by Hahaíi-wûhti and accompanied by the girl, walked along it and came down at that place.

Next the end of the rainbow rested on the mesa of Awatobi, and again they came walking along it. From here they walked over the mesa a short distance, carrying their baskets of meal, and as they entered the village, each kind of Kachina uttering its characteristic cry, the people flocked about. When they saw the girl, they understood that this was her wedding.

Hahaíi-wûhti informed the Crier Chief that during the night he was to go through the village and leave at each house an ear of corn, a melon, and a watermelon.[1] The Kaſsînamū at once returned to Álosak-tûqi, and that night the Crier Chief distributed the corn and the melons. In the morning when the people awoke, they found that their houses were filled with these fruits, and they rejoiced that they had a son-in-law with such supernatural powers. From that time on the people raised abundant crops, for there was always much rain in the summer and snow in the winter.

In one year the wife of Álosaka was ready to bear a child, and he went to his home at Álosak-tûqi to inform his mother, Hahaíi-wûhti. But she said that it was so far away she could not come to help her daughter-in-law, and he must do the best he could without her. So Álosaka returned to Awatobi, and a few days later his wife was delivered of a male child. Álosaka himself washed the child and cared for it during the twenty days in the place of his mother, and on the twentieth day he washed the child again and named it Sáqieva ["greenness" — referring to the greenness of the fields covered with flourishing crops].

In another year the young woman bore a second child, whom Álosaka named Sísivû ["cooking-pots" — implying the desire that everybody have full cooking-pots]. In the third year another son was born, and him they named Mómua ["mouths" — signifying that the mouths of the people would be full], and in the fourth year yet another, who was called Hûinniwû ["winnowing"].

The firstborn was now four years old, and the people, knowing that Álosaka, its father, had supernatural power, began to talk of giving this child some office, so that if the father should leave them the son would continue in his place.

A fifth son was born, and was called Wûkrima ["stepping"], and the sixth son was given the name Patûskasa [signifying the sound made by thumping a watermelon to determine if it is ripe].

Now the people one day sent the nephew of Tapólo, chief of the Tobacco clan, to pueblos in the Rio Grande valley to learn their language and make rain songs in that language, so that those outside the fraternity would not understand them. By magic he would go almost instantly to the eastern pueblos, spend the night there, and return in the morning; and when he had learned the language, the people organized the Wûwûtsim-wimi and the Tŏ-wimi, and made their songs. These two fraternities were organized from the men of the Squash and the Tobacco clans respectively. The men of the Reed clan organized the Ál-wimi, and Álosaka was one of the members. His eldest son, though only six years old, was made the chief of this society. During the four years of this boy's chiefship there was always abundance of snow during the winter, and the crops were good.

At the end of this fourth year the people became evil. When an old man or an old woman

[1] Melons and watermelons were introduced by the Spaniards.

went to defecate, the children would follow and rub the excrement over the aged person. The people would spit on each other, and quarrel. The young men respected none of the women, but waylaid and ravished them.

The sorcerers of Awatobi had a special kiva, and they were nicknamed Qïtamû [*qïtu*, excrement]. They believed that the children of Álosaka had had nothing to do with the prosperity the people had been enjoying. They were jealous, and desired to kill the Crier Chief, his wife, his daughter, his grandchildren, and Álosaka. So their chief went to the house of the Crier Chief, and after they had eaten, the Crier Chief filled his pipe and gave it to the sorcerer, who smoked, and then filled his own pipe and handed it to the Crier Chief. After this pipe had been smoked, the Crier Chief said: "*Taai!* What do you wish?"

"*Owâ!* In four days we are going to behead all of you, and so you must eat up all that you are holding back!"

"*Anchaai!* So long as our own children are going to kill us, it is well," said the Chief.

The sorcerer chief then returned to his kiva and told the others what had been said. That night the family of the Crier Chief began to shell their corn. They dug a large hole in the ground within the house, mixed the corn with ashes so that it would not become moist and rot, and buried it. On the third night they finished, and Álosaka took his youngest son, Patûskasa, to his home at Álosak-tûqi.

The others remained up all night, and early in the morning began their preparations. Each one put a feather on his head, and each boy placed a ceremonial kilt about his waist. The sorcerers were making clubs, and as they worked, they would say which one of the boys that particular club was intended for. As the sun rose, the family of the Crier Chief arranged themselves in single file. First was the Crier Chief with his *tiponi*, then Sáqieva, then the chief's wife and the other children, and last their mother. The sorcerers came out of their kiva, approached the house, entered, and with their clubs killed them all. They carried the bodies to the south side of the mesa and threw them over the cliff. "Now," said they, "we can live on in our own way, happily. These people were not the cause of our living well."

But from that time, whenever they planted, something happened to destroy the crops. The wind would blow the seeds out, and they would have to replant again and again, but by the time the wind ceased the season was too far advanced. During the summer and the winter there was nothing but dancing, and consequently a great deal of food was consumed, so that in three years they had exhausted their reserve supplies, and in the fourth year there was scarcely any corn. The people scattered about the country to dig roots and gather cactus fruit, and not enough were left to perform the ceremonies.

And now the people began to talk about Sáqieva and his father and brothers, and they realized that their former prosperity had been due to them. "It is because we have murdered our fathers," they would say as they wept, "that we are having these hard times."

On Totókya day of the Wûwûtšimû ceremony, Álosaka and his son Patûskasa came over to Awatobi from Álosak-tûqi, and when they entered the deserted house that had been their home, they wept. Álosaka opened one of the caches, took out some corn, and parched it, and after they had eaten, they filled their fawn-skin bags and went to the kiva. It was morning, and they found a few men lying about the room at the point of death from starvation. Álosaka and his son began to dance around the kiva, and after they had finished, they scattered some corn on the floor and went out. The men picked up the corn and ate.

At noon Álosaka and his son returned to the kiva, danced, and scattered corn, this time a little more than before. Again they departed, and the men ate the corn without stopping to cook it. In the evening the two again appeared and scattered still more corn. Then some of the men began to grow stronger, and after they had eaten the third time they were strong enough to smoke. Álosaka now sent his son into the kiva at night, and the men gave him a smoke and begged him to become their chief, as his brother had been; but the boy could neither accept nor decline for himself, so he went to his father, who consented that he remain. He gave his son counsel, taught him the Álosaka songs, and made a *tiponi* for him.

On the next morning the little boy went to the kiva with more corn, which he had parched during the night. On this night also he had gone about the village, leaving a single grain at each house, and in the morning after he had given the men in the kiva his parched corn, he told them to go out among the houses to see what they could discover there. When they found the houses full of corn, they cried with joy and remorse. There were a few old women living in

the village, and all day they were busy parching corn. Some ate too much, and died from the effects of overeating; the others, however, grew stronger, and when they were again themselves they went about the country searching for their relatives who had scattered about the land in quest of roots and cactus fruit.

From that time on, so long as the son of Álosaka was chief, the people of Awatobi had good crops, for there was plenty of rain and snow. This continued four years, and then again the people grew evil, regardless of the promises they had made their young chief. In the fifth year they became so bad that Tapólo, chief of the Tobacco clan, secured the aid of the Horn clan at Walpi in destroying most of the people at Awatobi. Patûskasa was among those killed, but some members of the three fraternities were spared and taken to Walpi, Mishongnovi, and Oraibi, and by them the ceremony of Wûwûčimû was continued.[1]

LEGENDARY FOUNDING OF THE BADGER CLAN IN WALPI[2]

A boy of the Oraibi Kachina clan excited the jealousy of the other young men because of the attentions shown him by two girls of the Badger clan. They determined to put him out of the way, and with that intention planned a ceremonial visit to the spring Kisíu-va, where the Kachinas lived. Many pahos were prepared, and when all was ready the youth was invited to accompany the party. He thought it a fine thing to be taken along on such an occasion, and gladly joined them. When the spring was reached, they gave him the prayer-sticks to take down into the water, expecting that he would be drowned in the deep pool.

But as they stood there a long slender tree was thrust up out of the water, and down this as a ladder the youth made his way to the bottom of the spring, where he planted the pahos. All about him he saw many Kachinas, who informed him of the evil designs of his companions, and assured him of their friendship, advising him to remain with them for a short time until his enemies should have returned to Oraibi, thinking him dead. "But they will not cease to try to take your life," they warned him: "and when you return, we will send some of our people with you. They will take with them two pine trees, which they will plant at night in your village. Your enemies will ask you to climb up into the top of a tree to make prayers, hoping that the wind will blow you out and kill you. You must insist that one of them go up into the other tree, and when the wind blows, he will be the one killed."

The youth followed their instructions, and in the night returned to Oraibi, going at once to the kiva, where his enemies were feasting and congratulating one another on the ease with which they had rid themselves of their rival. "Whose footsteps do I hear?" asked one of them suddenly. They listened. Some one descended the ladder, and there stood the youth. They were greatly astonished, but endeavored to conceal their feelings, pretending to be glad that he was not, as they had feared, drowned in the spring.

"Tomorrow," they told him, "we hold a dance, which we are just arranging. You shall have the post of honor. You shall climb to the top of a tree and there offer prayers."

"Where is the tree?" he inquired.

"We will find one," they said.

He replied: "I saw two trees when I came, two very tall trees. If I climb one, then one of you must climb the other."

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[1] The above tradition clearly bears out the internal evidence of the ceremony itself, that the Qán-wimi originally had no part in Wûwûtsimû. Other traditions show that this fraternity was brought from the south by the Cloud people, who, having a sacred performance that would assist the people in their constant quest for rain and snow, were admitted to the village and were permitted to join the other three fraternities in their annual ceremony. The line of division between the three original fraternities and the Qán-wimi is clearly seen in the progress of the ceremony, the original three acting much in concert, but the Qán-wimi keeping largely apart.

Asked to reconcile the statement that it was the Reed clan at Awatobi which organized the Ál-wimi, and the statement in his migration story, page 89, that the Reed people did not settle at that place, the narrator explained that these were two distinct groups of Reed people. Just so, he says, the Reed clan at Oraibi has its own migration legend, distinct from that of the Walpi Reed clan.

[2] Narrated by Siwihoṇönöma, a Sichomovi woman, daughter of a Badger clansman.

To this they agreed, and the next day the youth and a man climbed into the tops of the two trees that the Kachinas had planted. Then the wind blew fiercely, and the tops of the trees swayed from side to side. But the boy held on tightly. Soon there was a crash. The other tree had snapped near the base, and the man was dashed to the ground and killed. The wind ceased, and the boy climbed down unhurt.

The following day the men took counsel together and decided that they would set upon the youth and kill him at a Walpi Kachina dance, which the youth, the two Badger girls, and many other Oraibi people were going to attend. The day of the dance arrived, and the Oraibi party set out. Now one of the two Badger girls discovered the plot, and soon after the beginning of the dance the three left the kiva and went into a house where there was a great pile of corn. The youth lay down on the floor and the girls completely covered him with the ears of corn. After the dance some of the men asked the girls where their young friend was, and they said: "We have not seen him. Perhaps he is in the kiva, perhaps he went home."

So the men decided that if they found him before sunrise they would kill him, but if not, then it must be that the Kachinas were unwilling that he should die, and the attempt to take his life should be abandoned.

They began to search the mesa, and when they had gone to the northern end where Hano now stands, the girls removed the corn and the boy wrapped himself in a blanket and lay down in a hollow in the rocks. By and by the men returned, just after sunrise, and found him.

"Where have you been?" they inquired.

"Why, I have been right here sleeping all the time since the dance," he said. They were astonished, and felt sure that he must be especially guarded by the Kachinas, so they assured him that they would not molest him further.

The youth and the two girls returned to Oraibi with the rest of the people, and at once he married them. They lived in that village for some time, but the two wives were dissatisfied on account of the trouble they had had with their husbands' enemies, and after a while they moved to Walpi, founding the Badger clan in that village.

DESTRUCTION OF SIKYATKI

I-tdwûßi! There were people living at Kuchaptuvela and at Sikyatki, and for some time there had been bad feeling between the two villages. Two young men of Sikyatki went to the other pueblo, and while a maiden was parching meal they shot her in the side. The arrow passed through the body and killed her, and the meal, untended, burned, and smoke filled the room. The parents of the girl in the room below smelled the smoke, and the mother went up to see what was the matter. Thus they discovered her body.

The brother of the murdered girl was very angry, and having planned his revenge began secretly to practise running at night. Winter passed and spring came, and he began to go to Sikyatki occasionally to ascertain if there would be a Kachina dance soon. After a time he learned that there would be an evening dance of the Kaßinamû.[2] The next day he secured a mask, and painted it to represent Hômson-Kaßina, and in the afternoon he took his mask and went along the side of the cliff on the west side of the mesa, so that nobody at Sikyatki might see him. At a point opposite Sikyatki he waited until late in the afternoon, and when the Kaßinamû started dancing, he crossed the mesa, went down into the village, and entered the plaza from the south side while the dancers were performing. With his mask on he ran about the plaza for a time, personating Hômson Katßina and when he caught a youth he would cut off a small lock of hair and put it under his sash.

Then looking up at the spectators on the housetops, he singled out the chief's daughter, and ran up to the roof. All the girls fled into the houses, and he followed the chief's daughter. The girls who had taken refuge in that house were huddled together in one corner. He leaped among them and dragged out the chief's daughter, and cut off her head. Back to the housetop he dashed, brandishing the head so that everybody could see it, and then leaped to the ground and fled, with the young men of Sikyatki in pursuit. The avenger ran along the cliff on the east side of the mesa, and when the pursuers were at Mónwi-va ["chief spring"], he was already at Wâla ["gap"]. So they gave up the chase and returned to Sikyatki.

[1] Narrated by Lomási of the Walpi Badger clan.

[2] The Wawâsh Kaßinamû always performed in the evening.

When the young man got back home with the head, he went into the kiva, where the old men were smoking. He placed it beside the fireplace, removed his mask, and said: "Now I have carried out my plan. I have been getting ready for this through all kinds of weather. I have been enduring the hardship of cold weather, and running about the country while you have been sound asleep. Just to do this I have been practising running. Now I have fulfilled my plan. I am relieved." When he had removed all of his Kachina costume, he took the head out and buried it.

The people of Sikyatki, and especially the chief, mourned greatly, and about planting time he one day went to Kuchaptuvela. The chief of this village inquired, "Why have you come?"

"I have been wondering about our lives. There has been trouble between us, and I do not want either village to stand. My village will be the first one to be destroyed. After that the people of your village may do as they please regarding the destruction of this place. You will be notified when to come."

This matter was a secret between the two chiefs, and soon after this it was announced at Sikyatki that the people were to plant corn for the chief.[1] On the day of the announcement the chief went again to Kuchaptuvela and reported that on the fourth day following his people would go forth to plant corn for him. He directed that the warriors of Kuchaptuvela should enter Sikyatki after the people had gone down into the valley, when only women and children would be left in the houses. The signal would be given by the chief's wife, who would appear on the roof of her house and throw out some refuse. At this instant the warriors were to rush down into the village from the top of the mesa. She was then to wash her head, and while she was doing this they were to behead her, and then treat the others likewise. These were the instructions given by the chief of Sikyatki. His wife was in the secret, but none other among the people of Sikyatki knew it.

On the morning of the appointed day the warriors set out from Kuchaptuvela, and on the top of the mesa above Sikyatki they waited, watching the people descend into the cornfields. Soon the chief's wife appeared on the housetop and threw out a basket of refuse. This dirt represented her people, whom she was consigning to destruction. Then they rushed down straight to the chief's house and cut off the woman's head while she was in the act of washing her hair, after which they proceeded among the houses and killed all the women and children. They set fire to the woodwork of the houses, and when the people below in the fields saw the smoke, they hurried back and met the warriors at the foot of the mesa. But having no weapons they were easily killed. Only a few escaped, and these went to Oraibi and to Kuchaptuvela. *Paryáxava* ["this how long"].

TÍHKÛYI CREATES THE GAME ANIMALS[2]

There were people living at Oraibi. A Sió-yaya ["Zuñi magician"] dance was announced. The Yáyatû met in one kiva, and the women and the other men in another. Every night in rehearsal the Yáya chief would lead the Súmaikuli Kaſsína[3] into the kiva where the people were, and while singing would lead him around inside the circle of people four times. Then they would return to their own kiva.

While they were practising thus the Warrior Chief would never enter the kiva. But his wife did so, and on returning home she would tell her husband what good times the people were having. He would reply: "All right! Let them have their fun!"

When the time of the dance was near, the Warrior Chief was thinking about large game animals. In those times the people depended on mice and rats for their meat. He was thinking also of Másôû and of Tíhkûyi, and wondering if they could not be made husband and wife, so that large game animals would come into existence. On the day before the announcement of the dance he went to the kiva and told the people of his idea, and the plan was communicated to the Yáyatû, who deemed it good.

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[1] It is still customary for men, boys, and women to go out in a large body and plant corn for people of prominence.

[2] Narrated by Wisti, of the Rabbit division of the Walpi Tobacco clan.

[3] See footnote, page 191.

The announcement of the dance was made, and on Totókya day the Warrior Chief went again to the kiva. In both kivas the people and the Yáyatû used *tósi* [sweet-corn meal] in making effigies of animals. The people sent their effigies to the kiva of the Yáyatû, and on this night of Totókya the people and the priests remained up all night. The Yáyatû placed the images on a ceremonial robe and covered them with another, and then the priests spent the night in singing, trying to bring life into the effigies. But they remained inanimate.

On the following day the dance was held. The women and the girls were dressed in the Zuñi fashion, and as they danced in a circle, the Yáyatû and the Súmaikuli walked around inside the circle. There were six Súmaikuli, one for each world-region, and each was led by a Yáya. Káwikuli, the fire-carrier, also performed. After each dance the women and the men dancers, who alternated in the circle, returned to their kiva, and the Yáyatû with the Súmaikuli returned to theirs.

At the end of the day the Súmaikuli were led back to the kiva for the last time, and then they came out carrying the images, which they took into the plaza. As they walked around the plaza, the people offered *naqáqûsi* and prayers to them. Boys asked for good luck in hunting mice and rats, and young women for good luck in bearing children. Then the Yáyatû led the Súmaikuli down to a shrine of Tíhkûyi at the west of the village. The Súmaikuli placed the effigies, the pahos, and the *naqáqûsi* in the shrine, saying that the people desired to have large animals created by Tíhkûyi. Then they removed their masks and went back to the village.

On the following morning before sunrise the people, especially the young men and boys, went down to the shrine of Tíhkûyi, asking that their wishes might be granted. This they did also on the next three mornings. On the fifth day the people saw Tíhkûyi at the shrine, and they distinguished the forms of large animals, such as they never had seen before. During the day Tíhkûyi in person came into the village and told the people that it would not be well for the animals to remain so close to them, and as they had asked her to be the mother of the animals and she therefore had created them by turning the effigies into living beings, she would raise them as her own children. She would take them off a little way into the country, where there was good grazing. Másôû, she said, had consented to be the father of the animals. Whoever among the young men wished to kill game, would always succeed through offerings made in the morning. That is why young men in former times always went early in the morning to make offerings to Tíhkûyi and to Másôû.

On the sixth day Tíhkûyi led her children away into the wild country. Thus all the larger animals, from the rabbits up to deer and antelope, were created.

A little while after this, people going about the country began to find large game animals. A *típoni* was made for a Badger man,[1] who then announced that in four days there would be a hunt for large game. During this time the young men repaired their bows and their clubs, and on the appointed day they went down the valley and formed a large circle. Two men were chosen to pursue the surrounded deer and exhaust them, and when the animals were tired out, the other men rushed in and killed all they needed.

A long time after this a rabbit-drive was planned, and a *típoni* was made for a Rabbit man. And since that time the man to announce a rabbit-hunt is always of the Rabbit clan.[2]

TÍHKÛYI CREATES THE GAME ANIMALS[3]

A party of boys were trapping mice, which was the only meat of the first people. The trap was a flat stone propped up on a short stick, the base of which rested on a grain of corn. When the mouse gnawed at the corn, the stick was disturbed and the stone fell.

At night after the traps were set the boys roasted some ears of corn, which they had brought from home, and the leader of the hunt said that they would burn the cobs and in so doing would

[1] A man of the Badger clan used to be the announcer of big-game hunts.

[2] The Súmaikuli are believed to be the keepers of all the game animals. East and Middle mesas are said to have derived the Súmaikuli cult from Oraibi, where it is no longer practised. The present myth indicates clearly a belief that the cult came to Oraibi from Zuñi, which is in fact the case.

[3] Narrated by Saqîstiwa, of the Walpi Cloud clan.

call upon some one, and they would see if any one would come. The cobs were put into the fire, and in a little while a wailing voice was heard. The chief of the hunt said: "Listen! Somebody is coming!" He filled the little pipe with which his father had provided him, and handed it about the circle. All smoked, and then the chief ordered more wood put on the fire. A larger fire was built up, and in a short time somebody came in from the darkness.

Now the boys were frightened, and huddled together. The chief, however, said: "Do not be afraid of her. I think she is our mother." It was Tíhkûyi. She spoke: "Little boys, do not fear me. You have called me by throwing cobs into the fire, and I have come to help you. You are here catching mice. But mice are too small for meat. I am going to sing and see if we can provide larger game." She began to sing. After she had finished, she said: "Try to remember this song, and when you go home, tell your sisters to sing it while grinding corn. If the Four Chiefs [of the solstitial points] have heard our song, we will know it tomorrow. When you get up in the morning and look about for larger game, look for this." She made on the ground marks like rabbit-tracks. "So follow these marks, if you see them, and pull the animals out of the rocks." Then she went away, after the boy chief had given her a paho.

Before the boys went to bed, snow began to fall, and in the morning there was a depth far over the ankle. When they got up, they were surprised to see this white substance on the ground; for it had never before snowed here. They made moccasins of rags and the bits of blankets in which they had carried food from their homes, and then took sticks and went out to hunt. A little way from the camp they found rabbit-tracks, and each boy followed a trail. Many rabbits were dragged from their holes among the rocks, and when they returned, they waited for Tíhkûyi to come and instruct them.

After the evening meal they roasted corn and threw the cobs into the fire, and again Tíhkûyi appeared. She said: "Those are cottontail rabbits, and this is the way to dress them." She showed them how to skin a rabbit and how to clean it, and she told them to dry the skins and take them home in order that their mothers might make rabbit-fur robes. "Since you have me for your mother," she said, "let one of you call your father." Then the boy chief stepped aside and called, "If there is anybody about here that is our father, let him come!"

In a little while they heard a voice in a long-drawn wail, but in a lower tone than the voice of Tíhkûyi. Footsteps were heard, and the chief ordered a larger fire built. When the newcomer approached, the boys were greatly frightened, but their chief was calm, and invited the man, "Come, our father, and sit down." They saw that it was Másôû. Then Tíhkûyi said: "You have the rabbits, but tomorrow there will be more snow, and you will go out into the valley and see if you cannot find still larger game." Both she and Tíhkûyi and Másôû marked on the ground the tracks of a jack-rabbit, and Másôû said. "When you go home, try hunting the jack-rabbits in the valley near your village. But if you want still larger game than that, go into the valley below Húkyátvi [a small knoll in the valley south of East mesa]." Then the boy chief gave a paho to Másôû, who at once disappeared with Tíhkûyi.

The next morning there was twice as much snow as before, and the boys had to tear up some of the blankets to make leggings. In the valley they found tracks of jack-rabbits, and trailing the animals to their lairs under the bushes, they killed many, striking them on the head with their sticks. The following morning they started for home, piling the meat on frames made by lashing two sticks parallel, and covering it with the skins. When they were nearing home they built a fire, and the fathers of the boys started out to meet them. From a distance they saw that the children had something larger than mice, and quickly sent a runner back with word that all the fathers should come down and carry the burdens home.

The men were eager to hunt where the boys had hunted, but the boy chief said: "Just wait. We will try here."

"There are none here," they said.

But the boy insisted that they should try near the village, and a few days later he told the village chief that on the following day they would have a rabbit-hunt. The chief agreed, and the announcement was made

When the hunt began, some of the young men who had joined the party without really expecting to find game so close to the pueblo expressed their doubt; but when the circle had been made, and the men gradually came together, many rabbits were found and killed. From that time rabbits lived in the valley, the children of Tíhkûyi.

One day the boy chief told the village chief that they would look for larger game in the

direction of Hûkyátvi. He asked to have it announced that on the morrow they would go to that place for rats and mice, but the men should carry heavier clubs than rabbit-sticks. So at the appointed time the hunters went forth, and on the south side of Hûkyátvi they made a circle and gradually drew the lines together. The boy chief went inside, and there he found Másôû surrounded by deer and antelope. Immediately Másôû disappeared, and called to the boy to shout. When the boy shouted, the antelope and the deer were frightened and ran round and round in the circle. He directed the men to draw together at the points where the animals were trying to break through. When the antelope and deer were becoming weary, the men drew in toward the centre, and when the animals finally fell down, the men rushed in and killed them with clubs. All came home heavily laden with meat and skins. From that time the people lived on the flesh of rabbits, deer, and antelope, and they used rabbit-fur robes.

ADVENTURES OF THE TWIN GODS[1]

Destruction of the Giantess

I-tdwûñi! People were living in Kisakobi. Pökáŋ-hoya and his younger brother Polôŋao-hoya lived with their grandmother Spider Woman at Sá'kpi on the trail that goes down the south point of the mesa. The two boys used to go down on the slope of the mesa to play with their shinny-balls.

Súyuku [ogress] lived on the terrace. She used to steal little children, roast them in her firepit, and eat them. She had made away with most of the children of the village.

Spider Woman often warned her grandsons not to go near that place to play. "Now, my grandchildren," she would say, "do not go over there to play ball any more, for fear Súyuku will catch and roast you, just as she does the little children from above." But they would answer: "She cannot do it! She will not be much of a person."

One morning they started out as usual to play ball on the slope, and as they moved back and forth along the terrace, they gradually came to where the giantess lived. She came out and spoke to them, "My little grandchildren, where are you going?"

"We are just playing along here," they told her.

"Do not go very far," she said: "a little way from here there is a giant woman. You had better come in and wait before you go on." Thus spoke Súyuku.

The boys went into her house, and she gave them *mûmûs-piki* and meat; and they ate the *mûmûs-piki*, but the meat they only pretended to eat, throwing it on the ground, for it was the flesh of children. After they had finished, the old woman closed the door, seized the elder brother, and dragged him outside. Already she had the firepit heated. But the boys knew what danger threatened them, and Pökáŋ-hoya had already said to his brother, "When she throws us into the pit, you must urinate into it and I will spit my medicine into it." So when Pökáŋ-hoya was cast into the heated pit, he spat his medicine, and when Palôŋao-hoya was thrown in he urinated. Thus they checked the heat, and were not destroyed.

After putting them into the pit, Súyuku closed it and sealed the opening with clay, and laid fire on the top; and when the sun went down, she began to grind corn.

She had two young granddaughters, who were sleeping when she caught the brothers. After finishing her grinding, Súyuku went to bed, and when all was quiet, the boys opened the pit and crept out. They went into the house, and each chose one of the sleeping girls and cut off her head and dropped the body into the pit. The elder brother threw in some medicine that made it red-hot, and they sealed it up and placed the heads in the bed. In the morning when Súyuku awoke, she called to the two girls, but there was no answer. She scolded them, but still there was no reply, and the children did not move. She came to the bed to drag them out, but found only two heads. Then she knew that the two brothers had done this, and she wept aloud, and said that she would never take another child from Kisakobi. *Paiyásava!*

A Race between Kukuchomo and Oraibi

I-tdwûñi! People were living at Oraibi and at Kukuchomo. There was a young man at Kukuchomo who always won in the races between the runners of these villages, and the people at Oraibi became jealous of his success. So they took counsel, and decided to have a

[1] Narrated by Yóywûnû, of the Walpi Reed clan.

race on which they would wager everything they possessed, including the heads of all members of the villages. Their messenger reached Kukuchomo at sunrise and went down into the principal kiva. He had a string of deer-hoofs around his waist for rattles. As he stood at the foot of the ladder, the men asked him, "What is it?"

"Yes," he said. "In four days we will have a race, and on this race we will wager everything of value, and the heads of all the males in the villages. The winners will behead all the male losers and will take all the women."

"*Anchaaí!*" said the men of Kukuchomo, though their hearts were heavy.

After the Oraibi messenger had gone, the men asked their best runner how fast he could run. He replied that he felt he could run well. But the messenger had stipulated that each side should use magic, and on the third day the runner asked the people to make pahos for him. They did so, and that night he came to Wùkó-másôû ["big Másôû," the shrine of the deity]. At his fire sat Másôû, and as soon as the young man arrived it was known to him. "Come in!" he said.

The young man entered. Másôû gave him some squash, and when the runner had eaten he gave his guest a smoke. Then he said, "*Taaí* ['go ahead']*!*"

"*Owê* ['yes']*!*" answered the young man. "We are to have a race tomorrow, and the Oraibi men say that the winners will behead all the male members of the losing village, and take all their girls and women, and all their possessions. I have come to ask help of you. This is what I have brought for you." He gave Másôû four pahos, and Másôû was glad and thanked him, and said he thought he could do something. He said, "Now go to Pökáṇ-hoya and Palô-nao-hoya, and see what they think about it."

So the young man went to Sá'kpi, where the two brothers lived with their grandmother. When he stood at the door, they invited him to enter, and Spider Woman gave him some "round piki." When he had finished eating, she said: "*Taaí!* What is it?"

He answered: "*Owê!* Tomorrow we are to race with the men of Oraibi, and they have announced that the winners shall behead the male members of the losing village and take their girls and women and all their possessions. This is what I have brought for you." He gave a shinny-ball and a sling to the boys, and a small ball of red paint to Spider Woman. They were pleased with his gifts, and thanked him. They gave him a smoothly polished disc of white stone, and a *sucháva* [an Olivella shell, which is supposed to have been a deadly missile in the hands of magicians]. They told him to wear the stone disc on his back during the race, so that when he was running it would prevent his opponents from throwing any *sucháva* into him and thus disabling him. When he was ready to go, Spider Woman told him to go down to where Más-kötë ["corpse head"] lived, and see what he thought of the matter.

When the young man stood at the door, Más-kötë said, "Come in!" He entered, and received food, and after he had eaten and smoked, Más-kötë said: "*Taaí!* What is it?"

"*Owê!*" said the young man, and he repeated what he had already told to Másôû and Spider Woman. He ended by giving Más-kötë some pahos, and Más-kötë thanked him and said that something could be done. He gave the runner a *kôṇo* [ball of pulverized micaceous hematite, used in certain races] to use in the contest.

Then the runner returned to Kukuchomo, where he found all the men awaiting him in the kiva. They gave him a smoke, and asked: "*Úm hin navóta* ['how did you hear']*?*"

"*Pai nû qaṇ navóta* ['now I well heard']," he answered. Then the men were glad, and everybody slept well.

Early the next morning the young runner took some pahos that had been made the previous day, and carried them away from the village and offered them to the Sun. While he was so doing he saw the bright rising sun, just like fire, and heard something roaring like thunder, and when he returned, he reported that all was well.

Even as he entered the village there was a messenger from Oraibi, to remind them that the day had arrived. The messenger departed, but after a brief interval another came, telling them to make their preparations. Soon came a third, bidding them make ready to start, and quickly a fourth appeared, telling them to start. So they all went out to the race course, and the people from Oraibi came to the same place, bringing all the property they possessed. The runner for Kukuchomo went up on the mesa and crossed to the other side, the west side, near the spring, as this was to be the starting point. With him were eight men from the Kukuchomo kiva, and with the Oraibi runner were likewise eight companions.

Early on the morning the two brothers, Pökáṇ-hoya and Palôṇao-hoya, with Másôû, Más-kötĕ, and Spider Woman, had started for the race course. They were invisible. The two boys went to the beginning of the course, Másôû stopped to the east of them, Spider Woman to the east of Másôû, and Más-kötĕ to the east of Spider Woman.

The terms of the race had been publicly announced. Each runner was to kick his stone ball once and then pick it up and run with it down into the valley, where he would drop it and kick it forward. So the runners started. The two little brothers, being invisible, dodged in and out between the legs of the Oraibi runners and tripped them up. When they came to Másôû, he kept throwing his club at their legs, and thus made them heavy. Spider Woman, when they reached her station, tangled her threads about the Oraibi runners' legs, and finally Más-kötĕ used his club and made them lag still farther behind. So the Kukuchomo runners remained in the lead. The others kept throwing their *suchávа* at them, but the stone disc stopped them all. When the race ended, the Oraibi men were full of mourning. The winners beheaded all of them and took their wives and children and possessions.

After this, when Kukuchomo was harassed by enemies, the people moved to Oraibi. They were the ancestors of the present population of that pueblo. *Paṛyásava!*

Destruction of the Winged Snake

I-tdwûßi! A long time ago there were many young men, who, going out into the mountains to hunt deer, never returned. They would set out with a little piki tied up and fastened to the belt around the waist, and with water in a small netted gourd, and were never seen again. Then at last it was discovered that Kóhpa-mana ["winged-snake girl"][1] was responsible. There was only one young man left in the village, the son of the Crier Chief. In spite of what had occurred, he one morning set out hunting.

Among Hopi buttes he was chasing a little fawn, when Kóhpa-mana carried him away. She took him, like the others, to the mountains where she lived, at Powá-ki ["sorcerer house" — east of Comer springs], and placed him in a rocky cave from which it was impossible to escape.

When the young man failed to return, the Crier Chief knew that the Winged Snake had caught him, and he wondered what he could do to save his son. His first thought was of the two brothers, those who lived at Sä'kpi, and of the other two brothers who lived at Salt lake and of the two who lived at Óṇ-tûpka ["salt cañon" — a place in Grand cañon above El Tovar hotel, where the Oraibi people sometimes gather salt]. And he thought also of Wükóchûa ["great rattlesnake"], who lived in the valley south of Tsô-pa ["antelope spring" — Jeditoh]. He made pahos for the grandmothers and for Great Rattlesnake, and of a deerskin he made six shinny-balls and six slings for the brothers. Then he started on his journey, going first to Salt lake. In the crater in the midst of the lake the two brothers lived, and there he found them. A voice said, "Come in!" He entered. The two little boys were there, and the grandmother, Spider Woman. She gave him a smoke and set food before him. Then she asked why he had come.

"*Owâ!*" he said. "I have come to ask for your help in finding my son. This is what I have brought for you." He gave the pahos to Spider Woman and a ball and a sling to each of the brothers. They were pleased with the gifts, and promised their assistance. Then he told them that he had made gifts for all the other war gods, and a long paho for the Great Rattlesnake. He asked the brothers if they could go on a journey and obtain the help of the others, and of Great Rattlesnake. They agreed to do this, and told him to return home, where they would notify him of their success.

So the Crier Chief started homeward, and after he had gone Spider Woman placed a long, soft, white eagle-feather before the two boys, who stepped upon it. As they did so, it rose in the air and carried them over among the Zuñi mountains [Hóṇyap-tevĕlû — *hóṇyavi*, the yellow-wooded bush that the Zuñi call *tâhlupßi; tevĕlû*, slope] and rested on them. From there it floated to Kahá-vi ["willow place"], where again it rested before starting to the home of Great Rattlesnake, which was south of Tsô-pa.

When they arrived at the home of Great Rattlesnake, he did not speak to them, or even look at them. They inquired: "What is it, grandfather? Why do you not speak? We are

[1] Kóhpa is a winged serpent, very long, that travels only at night, moving with great swiftness.

in haste. They have called on us to find the son of the Crier Chief, and they have called also on you. This is what they have sent to you." And they gave him the long paho.

Great Rattlesnake spoke: "All right, I will help you, because I am glad to have this paho."

Then the two boys stepped again on the feather, which started for the home of the two brothers at Sá'kpi. The two boys at this place were glad to see their brothers, and as the visitors were in a hurry they immediately told what their business was. When they produced the shinny-balls and the sling, the Sa'kpi brothers were happy, and Spider Woman was pleased with her pahos. All three promised to be ready at the proper time. From there the feather carried the brothers away toward Salt cañon, resting first on Apónivi ["pointed peak" — southwest of Oraibi].

The brothers at Salt cañon were well pleased with their gifts, and quickly promised their assistance. So these three accompanied the brothers of Salt lake, each family flying on an eagle-feather and carrying their implements for working magic. When they reached Kisakobi, Spider Woman of Salt cañon told the Crier Chief that he had forgotten four persons, and he must make pahos for them at once. These four were: Pachipqasa ["buffalo-skin dress," alluding to the rough skin], the great lizard; Pálǫ̈ǫ̈ū [echo]; Mǫ̈yi [mole]; and Piákū [caterpillar]. Besides the pahos he took some tuberous roots for Mole and a soft eagle-feather for Echo, and green leaves for Caterpillar. When the Crier Chief went to these four with his gifts, they all promised their help.

Early the next morning the three from Salt cañon and the two from Salt lake set out with the Crier Chief, and in the valley they met Lizard, Echo, Mole, and Caterpillar. One of the brothers went on to notify Great Rattlesnake and urge him to make an early start, because he was slow of movement. They assembled at Sorcerer House, all except Echo, whom they left at Sóta [one of the Hopi buttes], and Mole, whom they left at the foot of the mountain where the Winged Snake lived. The door of her house was in the middle of a high cliff, and up to it led a stair of stones as sharp as knives. But Lizard rubbed the slime of his rough coat across the stones and dulled them, the edges melting away. In the same manner he removed the sharp edges that formed the door of the house. All the helpers whom Great Rattlesnake had brought with him were left at the foot of the cliff, but he himself went up with the war gods. When they entered the house, Kǫ́hpa-mana did not notice them. She was grinding corn and singing. Down below Echo kept repeating the song after her, and this annoyed her. After a while it became unbearable, and she went outside. She came back, and for the first time noticed the people in her house.

"What are you doing in my house?" she demanded. "Nobody ever enters my house. What are you doing here?"

"*Owé!*" said one of them. "We have come for this Crier Chief's son."

"He is here," admitted Kǫ́hpa-mana, "but I will not give him up."

One of the war gods said, "We will see!"

"Yes, we will see," she replied. She went to one corner of the room and got out a large bag of tobacco and a clay pipe as large as a cooking-pot. She poured tobacco into the pipe, packing it down with her foot. She lighted the pipe and passed it to the Crier Chief, saying that he must inhale the smoke and not blow it out.

But in the meantime Mole had been digging his way under the mountain, and was now making an opening in the floor under each person, so that when they smoked and inhaled, the smoke simply passed through them and down into the burrow. So the pipe was passed around the circle, and nobody was harmed. Then Kǫ́hpa-mana filled the pipe again and passed it around. She wondered what kind of people these were that they did not become sick.

Again she said, "We will see who is wise!" She sprinkled sand on the floor and planted all kinds of seeds and spread a robe over them. She removed the robe and opened a door leading into an adjoining room, and out from it came clouds, which watered the garden. The seeds sprouted and grew up, but when the corn was in the ear and the melons were formed, the war gods blew their breath and froze them.[1] Then Kǫ́hpa-mana told them to show their power.

The war gods with the help of their grandmothers cleared the floor and spread fresh sand, in which they planted their seeds. They spread a robe over the garden and then soon removed

[1] The war gods control the cold.

it and opened a bowl, from which rain came to water the seeds. Beans and corn grew and ripened. Then Kŏhpa-mana was astonished, yet she would not give up.

She spread fresh sand, threw a robe over it, and went into another room, saying, "When you see this robe lifted from the floor, that is the time for you to wrestle with me." From the other room she crept under the floor until she was beneath the robe, which she then raised, and all the others began to wrestle with her. But Great Rattlesnake quickly summoned all the Snakes he had left below, and they threw themselves on the blanket and weighted it down. At last Kŏhpa-mana was completely exhausted and cried: "Get off! I am tired, and I give up this wrestling." Then the Snakes hurried out before she could return to the room and discover how she had been overcome.

After she had recovered her breath, she said: "There is one more trial. I will run a race with one of you." It was then about noon, and she said they would race to the sun, pass around it, and return to Sorcerer House. All went outside, and a line of meal was sprinkled for the starting line. One of the war gods from Salt cañon placed a feather on the line and stood on it, and Kŏhpa-mana in her form of winged snake took her place beside him. The three Spider Women, one after another, blew through a reed upon the feather as it carried the boy swiftly along. When they were weary, Lizard blew, and then Caterpillar and Great Rattlesnake took their turns. When the racers had passed the sun and were returning, the Spider Women, one after another, drew in their breath through the reed, and then the others did so. Thus the war god won the race, and Kŏhpa-mana was forced to admit her defeat. The war gods cut off her head and chopped her body into small pieces, which they scattered in all directions, and these pieces became the snakes that now exist. Next they opened the cave and found many young men, most of them mere skeletons. The son of the Crier Chief was the only one alive and well. The gods took out all the bodies and bones and administered food and water, and thus restored them to life and sent them to their homes. *Paiyásava!*

Destruction of Nák-viki

I-tâuûsi! Nák-viki ["hot-sand piki"] lived in a hole in the cliff at the narrow part of the trail that now leads into Walpi from the north. There were people at Kuchaptuvela, and little boys and girls used to go to play along the terrace. One day something suddenly flew at them and cut off their heads one after another. They could not see anything. In this way the children of Kuchaptuvela were almost exterminated, and the chief of the village was at a loss. He made two balls of deerskin and two shinny-sticks, and all these he painted red. He took then four corncobs and eight feathers and made four *notŏva* [a cob with two feathers stuck into one end and used as a toy missile].

The next day the Houses Chief went to the two war gods, who lived alone with their grandmother at Polí-ki ["butterfly house," the point of the mesa west of the ruin Kisakobi]. He entered their house, and found the brothers fighting each other, and rolling on the ground. They were covered with dirt, and their faces were smeared with nasal mucus. Their grandmother, Spider Woman, said to the chief, "*Kátûû* ['sit down']*!*" Then she scolded the boys, but they paid no attention and kept on crying and biting each other. She hobbled over to them and slapped them on the back, and then they desisted and sat down in the corner, while Spider Woman fed the visitor. After he had eaten, she inquired, "What do you wish?"

And the chief answered: "Yes! Something has been killing all my little boys and little girls, and I have come to ask you to look for that something. These are what I have brought for your children." He laid on the floor the toys he had made. The elder brother seized them all, but Spider Woman said, "No, that is not the way." And she divided them between the two. She promised that they would go on a hunt for this something, because the chief had already paid them for their services. Then the chief went home.

When he had gone, Spider Woman directed the two brothers to get two pieces of *hûzû-wa* ["hard stone" — basalt], and to pound them into shape, so that they could place them on their heads like caps. At this they labored all day.

The next day immediately after breakfast they put on their stone caps and went toward Kuchaptuvela, walking along the terrace. The breakfast of the brothers always consisted of *pövŏhl-piki*, of which Spider Woman never made more than two pieces; but whenever a bite was taken and the piece laid down, there it lay whole again. The meat of the war gods was a

small bird, *chízo*. As the two brothers played along the terrace, knocking their shinny-balls before them, something came flying at them. But when it struck their stone-covered heads it crumbled to pieces. Thus they destroyed Nák-viki, and from that time the children at Kuchaptuvela increased. *Paiyásava!*

The Twin Brothers Depart from East Mesa to Salt Lake

I-tâwûßi! People were living at Old Mishongnovi. The chief had a daughter, whom all the young men wished to marry, and they would constantly go to her house to ask for her, but she refused them all. The two brothers who lived at Poli-ki heard of this and told their grandmother that they were going to ask for this girl. She said: "Do not go. She has refused handsome young men." Still they said they would go, if only to see what kind of girl she was. So they departed.

It was the custom of this girl to get water at noon, and knowing this, the brothers went straight to Tuzí-va [Tureva spring]. At the spring they saw the girl, and they asked if they might drink from her dipper She handed it to them, and they drank from it, and when they had finished she rubbed it twice with sand and rinsed it out. At this they were displeased, but they only laughed and returned home.

The next day they went to see their uncle, Hónani [badger], who lived at Qaqíu [a sandy knoll in the valley southwest of Walpi]. When they arrived, Badger said: "*Pákii* ['enter']*! Kátûû* ['sit down']*!*" The boys entered and sat down, and told what had happened at the spring. They said they wished to know what he thought they should do. So Badger sent one of them home to procure a piece of deerskin, and out of this he made a bag by means of a draw-string. He pulled the string until only a very small hole was left, and then he broke wind into it and quickly pulled the string taut. Finally he instructed them what to do.

Again they waited for the girl at the spring Tuzí-va, and when she had filled her jar with water and was departing with it on her head, in the fashion of those times, they threw the bag and struck her in the rump. The bag burst with a loud noise, and the girl walked on homeward, breaking wind constantly. She was in this condition three days, and then her father, the chief, began to wonder. He feared that she had done something wrong, and he asked, saying: "Do not hide anything from me. Tell me just what has happened to you." So she related what the two brothers had done to her, and the chief said she ought not to have offended them by rinsing the dipper.

Then he went to the home of the brothers, and Spider Woman invited him to enter, and asked, "What do you want?"

"I have come to ask that your grandsons rid my daughter of the trouble they have put upon her," he said.

The old woman sent the boys to their uncle, Badger, who again filled a bag with wind, and they took it to the chief's house in Mishongnovi. They directed the girl to get down on the floor on hands and knees, and they struck her on the rump with the bag, which burst with a noise, and the girl was immediately relieved.

Now the chief had promised and the girl had agreed, that if they would make her well again they should have her for their wife. But they knew not what to do, because two could not sleep with one wife. So the younger gave up his right and returned home. It was not long until the people at Mishongnovi began to show their dislike of the girl's husband, because he was so dirty, and soon he was sent home. Then Spider Woman and the two brothers were very angry, and said they would no longer live near such people. They had helped them in their difficulties, but since the people did not like them, they would leave. So they departed to Salt Lake, where they still live to this day. *Paiyásava!*

CORN-SMUT MAID [1]

I-tâwûßi! People were living in the village which now is in ruins on the knoll north of Tawá-pa. There was a youth named Tának-tivo ["rainbow youth"], who daily practised running before sunrise and made offerings of pahos in order to become swift and strong. Otherwise, day and night, he remained in the house. He was handsome.

[1] Narrated by Lomási, of the Walpi Badger clan

One day he let it become known that he would never marry, unless it should be a girl whose meal was so fine that it would adhere to the *kaláhaiyi* [abalone-shell] that hung in his house on the wall. Then all the maids in the surrounding villages began to grind meal, making it as fine as possible. For all the girls wished to marry this handsome youth.

A girl of Awatobi was the first to come for the trial. Rainbow Youth was kind and courteous to her. He invited her into the house, and after a time he asked, "What is it you wish?"

"I have come for you," she answered.

"*Anchaaí!*" said the youth. He opened the cloth that contained the girl's meal and threw some of it against the shell, but it did not adhere. "I cannot go with you," he said, "because your meal will not adhere to my *kaláhaiyi*."

"*Anchaaí!*" answered the girl quietly, and departed.

In this manner many others failed.

There was a girl at Kuchaptuvela named Naná-mana ["corn-smut girl"], who was swarthy and dirty. Her brothers told her that they did not think Rainbow Youth would consent to come with her, even if her meal should stick to the shell; nevertheless, she said that she would try. She took some of her meal and went to the young man's house. He invited her to enter and sit down, and he asked what she wished.

"I have come for you," she said.

"*Anchaaí!*" he responded. He took some of the meal and threw it against the shell, and it stuck fast. He said again: "*Anchaaí!* It is my word. I have agreed to go with the girl whose meal stuck to my *kaláhaiyi*, and your meal has done so. Therefore I go with you." So they went to the house of Naná-mana.

Her brothers and mother were surprised, but no less pleased. Toward evening Nána-mana went into an adjoining room, but she did not reappear. Another person came out, a beautiful young woman, and Rainbow Youth wondered who she was. About bedtime the brothers began to speak to her, and gave him to understand that this was really their sister and his bride, Naná-mana. Her former appearance had been due to a mask that she wore during the day; every day she wore the mask, but at night removed it and revealed her true self.

Now the other girls who had been rejected were angry and made sport of Rainbow Youth and his dirty bride. But the young man was not annoyed, for he knew that his wife was really beautiful. After he had lived with her for some time, she said that since she was a supernatural being she would leave the people. So with all her family she disappeared into the ground, and the place where she disappeared is now the shrine of Naná-mana. *Paiyásava!*

THE YOUTH AND THE SORCERERS OF KISAKOBI[1]

I-tûwûßi! People were living at Kuchaptuvela and at Kisakobi. Both pueblos had Wawáśh Katśinamû ["running Kachinas"], who, going from one village to the other with corn, piki, *sumí-viki*, and *chûkû-viki*, would place the food in small piles on blankets outspread in the plaza. Then they would stand behind the heaps of food, and two Kóyĕmsi [clowns], who carried the food for them, stood beside them and called out to the people, who remained at a respectful distance: "Come, boys, and see how my men will run! See if they will outrun you or not!" After a while some young man would cautiously approach the waiting Kachinas, as if to steal food. One of the Kachinas would then suddenly dash out and pursue him the length of the plaza, and if the man was overtaken he was punished in one of various ways, depending on which Kachina caught him. One Kachina was called Tsôkap-polölö Katśína ["mud-round Kachina"], and he punished by hurling mud balls. Another was Pûśkomok Katśína ["rabbit-stick Kachina"], who threw a rabbit-stick made of rags. Another was Hômson Katśína ["hair-wisher Kachina"], who punished by cutting off a portion of his victim's hair. Yet another would smear charcoal over the face, and Kókŏpölö-mana ["insect (sp. ?) girl"] would throw to the ground a man whom she caught and pretend to rape him. Others had whips of willow or yucca, with which they belabored their victims. The game was played alternately in the two pueblos, the Kachinas of one visiting the plaza of the other, turn by turn.[2]

The two villages were peaceful and happy, but trouble was coming.

[1] Narrated by Lomási, of the Walpi Badger clan.

[2] This is still done in the spring at Walpi and the other villages. See also page 203.

The daughter of the Kuchaptuvela chief was unwilling to marry. There was a kiva of sorcerers, who would go stealthily to the girl's house night after night, but she gave them no favors. Every night they would be standing about the hatchway of their kiva, waiting for the sun to set and darkness to fall, that they might go unobserved and try to win her consent.

There was a young man at Kisakobi whom this girl liked, but he never came to see her. He had a companion who belonged to the sorcerers' kiva.

One day the girl told the young man's companion to say to his friend that she wished to talk to him. The message was delivered, and one evening, while all the sorcerers were gathered about their kiva, they saw the youth from Kisakobi pass and go to the house of the chief, where he talked to the girl through a small opening close to the mealing stones.

From that time the young man repeated his visit every evening, and the sorcerers were chagrined. Not long afterward the girl told her lover that in four days she would go with him. During those four days he brought in as much wood and game as he could, and the girl spent her time in grinding meal. On the evening of the fourth day the young man's parents prepared meat, and he went to the home of the chief's daughter. He gave the salutation customary on such occasions: "*Tûmanôsoïsa* ['let us go and eat']!" The girl's parents accompanied them to Kisakobi, and the girl carried on her back a large basket containing all the meal she had ground. When they reached the youth's home, all ate, and the chief and his wife returned to their house.

At Kisakobi the girl remained. Three days she passed in grinding meal, and on the evening of the third day her parents came again and spent the night there. On the following morning the young man's parents washed the bride's head, and they were now husband and wife.[1]

Now the sorcerers made a plot. They turned one of their number into a mouse and sent him to the young man's house to cut off a small lock of his hair after he had gone to sleep with his bride. He was also to cut off a bit of the girl's dress, and of her belt, and a lock of her hair. In those times there were no doors, only blankets hung over the small doorways. So he had no difficulty in entering the house, and soon obtained what he wanted.

The girl remained in her husband's house until his people had had time to make for her two marriage-robes, a marriage-belt, and moccasins. Then the young man's uncles gave him the customary counsel, saying that as he was now to accompany his wife to her home, he must be industrious, and supply abundant fuel, and busy himself with farming and weaving. The women dressed the young wife in her new clothing, the young man took his robes, and the two started for Kuchaptuvela.

The chief was pleased that his daughter was married, but the sorcerers were resentful. They assembled that night and talked over their plans. The young man's friend, however, told them that they could not do anything to him, "for," he said, "he is your equal in magic. He is a brave man." But they rebuked him for defending their enemy, and said they would try at once what they could do. One said: "I will do it. I will play jack-rabbit tomorrow, and there will be snow tonight, so that he will go rabbit-hunting. I will go into the country, and there he will find me. I will run down the valley, and he will chase me."

The next morning there was snow on the ground, and the youth said to his wife, "I am going to hunt rabbits." Down into the valley, not far from the mesa, he came upon rabbit-tracks, and soon he started up a jack-rabbit. It circled about two or three times, as jack-rabbits do in the snow. The hunter threw down his blanket and his food and ran after it, and the animal set off straight down the valley. It went to Matô-vi [a spring commonly called Burro spring]. Just above this place it disappeared into a prairie-dog's hole. It was about sunset. The young man began to dig, and he thrust his arm in and seized the rabbit by the leg. Just as he was pulling it out, the rabbit turned and grasped his hand. The sun was disappearing, and it was very cold.

The plan of the sorcerer was to hold the young man's hand until he froze to death. The hunter struggled and pulled, but he could not free himself. He took out a little bag of prayer-meal and removed from it a small image of a cougar, to which he prayed: "Now, my pet [*i-voko*], help me in my trouble." The image immediately turned into a real cougar, and the young man sent it down into the burrow. The rabbit uttered one squeak, and was silent. When the cougar came out of the hole, he said to the man: "Now pull out the rabbit. This is not a real rabbit, but a man. Take him back to the village and into the sorcerers' kiva. Now put

[1] This is exactly the present custom.

me back into your meal-bag." Then it became once more a small stone image, which the young man returned to his bag. Carrying the dead rabbit, he went back to the village.

It was very cold, but by running he soon became warm. He went straight to the kiva where the sorcerers were assembled, wondering why their companion did not return. While they were talking about it, they heard a noise. It was the young man. He untied the rabbit and threw it down into the kiva, saying: "Here is your rabbit. I think you want to eat it, and I have brought it for you to eat if you wish it. It is yours." Then he went home.

"Now," said the sorcerer who was the friend of the young man, "I told you he is a clever man. You can do nothing with him."

They said: "Why are you defending him? We will attend to him."

The young man arrived at his home, and the chief, his father-in-law, said: "We have been uneasy about you. It is very cold."

"Yes, I have been chasing a rabbit all day, and he took me clear down to Matô-vi. I have just taken it to the sorcerers."

The chief said: "You did right. Let them eat it if they wish."

Now the sorcerers were talking about another plan for the following day. One said: "I will play mountain-sheep. I will go to Mŏfs-ovi ['point elevated-place' — a place on the mesa near the mouth of Keams cañon]." So on the following day he went out to play mountain-sheep.

Said the chief's son-in-law: "I am going after bigger game today. I am going for a mountain-sheep." When he arrived on the mesa he saw the track of a large buck, which he had followed only a short distance, when the sheep jumped up from among the cedars. He gave chase. The sheep circled about several times, and before long showed signs of fatigue. On the east side of the mesa it leaped down to a narrow ledge. The young man followed along the ledge. Suddenly the sheep made a short turn and charged. But the image of the cougar in the hunter's pouch had just warned him: "Now he is going to make a charge! When he does so, stand close to the wall and when he comes close, kick him over the cliff." This the hunter did, and the sheep rolled down the precipice. The hunter went down and tied his deerskin strap about the body and carried it home. The little stone cougar said: "This is not a mountain-sheep, it is a man. Take it to the sorcerers' kiva."

While the sorcerers were sitting about the fireplace smoking, the young man approached. It was dusk. Some of the people in the street called, "Here comes someone with a mountain-sheep!" Then the sorcerers started in surprise. The hunter threw down the sheep, removed his strap, and tumbled the carcass down into the kiva, saying: "Here is your mountain-sheep. I have brought it to you. You may skin and eat it, for I myself do not want it."

Then the men in the kiva began to talk, but the friend of the young man said: "Now, I told you that you cannot do anything to this man. I have told you this before, but you did not believe me." They, however, reproved him again, and immediately made the dead man come to life in his human form, just as they had done with the one who had played jack-rabbit. They laid the body out on the floor, covered it with a blanket, and sang.

Now the sorcerer chief said that they would have to call on someone outside their kiva. He said, "We will call on Bear." The Bear people were living among the hills north of the mesa, and it was decided to send a runner to them that very night. One of the sorcerers became an owl, which perched on the north side of the fireplace and said, "Now, what do you want?"

The chief answered: "*Owŏ!* We have been planning to kill the chief's son-in-law, but instead, he has laid before me two of my own men. We wish to call on Bear to help us. You will go to notify him, and get his help. When you see him, ask both the father and the mother Bear, and see which one will consent to do what we wish. If the father Bear will not consent, then ask the mother Bear. The mother Bear has regard for nobody, being a woman. But the father Bear sometimes refuses a favor of this kind, because he always helps hunters."

"*Anchaaí!*" said the Owl, and flitted silently up through the hatchway.

Now the friend of the chief's son-in-law went out, pretending that his purpose was to get fuel. He went to his friend, and told the new plan. Then the chief said to his son-in-law: "The time has come when I think you will not return from your hunting; for the Bear is fierce. But perhaps you will manage it in some way." The young sorcerer then returned to his kiva, and soon Owl returned with the report that Bear had consented.

It was decided between the chief and his son-in-law that the hunter should go to the Bear and persuade him to be friendly, and it was understood that if he succeeded he should bring the Bear to the village. If he did not return, it would be known that the Bear had eaten him. The chief, his wife, their daughter, and her husband gathered about the fire, and all busied themselves in making *naqáqūsi*, one pile for the father Bear, one for the mother Bear. The chief painted them red, and the four remained up all night, smoking to the *naqáqūsi* for good luck. The chief gave the young man counsel, saying: "When you start out, try to put away every evil thought, and think only of everything that is good. Thus you may win the confidence of the Bear." He gave his son-in-law a certain kind of medicine, which would help in pacifying the Bear, and told him also about a Spider Woman living north of the village, who also would help him. The young man took down his hair, and his wife combed it out. He placed one downy eagle-feather in it, put on a *pítkūna* [ceremonial kilt], wrapped the *naqáqūsi* in an *atōo* [a white cotton robe with red embroidered edges], took some meal, and set off.

When he was a short distance from the village, somebody spoke to him. He looked about, and saw Spider Woman. "My grandson," she was saying, "I think you are perhaps on your last journey. The Bear is a fierce person, and you might not come back. But perhaps we can arrange it some way so that it will be all right. You must take me along. Pick me up and place me behind your ear." So the young man picked up the Spider and placed her behind his ear, and she gave him a certain kind of medicine. Then he started off on a run. When he had gone a little farther and was among the hills, the sun was just appearing. When he was on the top of the hills, the sun had risen. He stopped there and offered a prayer to the sun, saying: "Now this day may we work together. Let us work with the thought of good only." He sprinkled meal toward the sun and went on.

When he had gone a little farther, Spider Woman spoke: "There he is in the distance! Now use some of my medicine!" The young man chewed some of the medicine and spat in the direction of the Bear, and went on. Again she said, "Use more medicine." Thus at frequent intervals she directed him to use the medicine, and he was saying to himself constantly: "The Bear must not harm me. He will be quiet when I come to him. The Bear will have pity on me."

When he approached, the Bear began to grow quiet, and before the young man came quite to him the Bear lay down and said: "Now, you are a great man. I was very angry, but now I have become quiet, and I will not harm you. Fear me not, but come close."

Spider Woman whispered: "Now is the time! Go close. Do not fear him!"

The young man went closer to the Bear and put down his bundle of *naqáqūsi*, and opened it, and laid them one by one before the Bear, who said, "I see that one bundle is for my wife."

"Yes," said the man.

"Now, just put that bundle to one side," directed the Bear. So the man laid one bundle aside, and tied the others to the Bear's head. When this was done the Bear spoke again, "Since you have pacified me, I will follow you."

"Yes," said the man. "You must go gladly. They have given me to you, but I have succeeded in pacifying you, and when you come to the village, then you can do as you please with the people who have given me to you to be killed; and you may do whatever you wish to them. Now go happily." He sprinkled meal in the direction of the village and started back, and the Bear followed, walking along the path of meal. The man began to run, and still the Bear followed.

When they were still some distance from the pueblo, the Bear told him to shout, and so he uttered the call of alarm, and added at the end, "The Bear is coming!" Two or three in the village heard the cry of warning. Soon the young man repeated the shout, and more people heard it. A third time he shouted, and yet again. When he was on the terrace below the village, he called once more, adding this time: "I have brought the Bear for the sorcerers. Let them all come to meet the Bear!"

Now the villagers were in great excitement. The sorcerers were in their kiva. Their chief spoke to his fellows, saying that they must not give up, but all must go to meet the Bear. They declared that they would take whatever was awaiting them, for they had tried to kill their enemy and had been outwitted by him.

When the young man, followed by the Bear, arrived in the village, the Bear made straight for the kiva. The sorcerer chief let his men up out of the kiva, and when they were close to the

Bear, he said: "Now the time is come. I will not beg off. We have been trying to kill a man but he has outwitted us, and we are willing to be killed by you. Now, father, do whatever you choose with us."

He stepped up to the Bear, who seized him in his jaws by the breast, and tore him to pieces. Then one by one the others came up to the Bear and were destroyed. None attempted to escape. The ground was covered deep with blood, and the Bear smeared it on the sides of his head as a mark of his ferocity. Then the chief and his son-in-law, who had hurriedly made pahos, gave the offerings to the Bear and sent him back to the hills. *Paiyásava!*

WHY PAYUPKI WAS ABANDONED[1]

Long ago people were living at Payupki and at Chukubi. It was the custom to have races in the spring. At Chukubi two brothers, Kalĕmsa and Qŏki, were the principal runners, and at Payupki the best was Chŭ'yakafskŭ. One day the people of Chukubi sent word to Payupki that they would race on the morrow. And at the appointed time the people met at the starting point.

The Chukubi chief defined a course down the wash to Pá-koi-fsomo, thence back to the starting place. Though it was a contest between the villages, each kiva sent its runners. Each kiva had its distinctive color, either white, red, or yellow. One of the kivas of Payupki won the race for their pueblo, and the Chukubi people, much chagrined, at once challenged the winners for another race on the next day.

So there was another race, and again Chukubi was defeated. This time a quarrel ensued. The Chukubi chief then said they would have a dance of the Wawásh Kafsínamŭ, and on the following morning they sent a messenger to Payupki. He entered one of the kivas, and they asked him, "What do you wish?"

"Yes," he said. "This morning a crow had a green moccasin."[2]

"*Anchaaí!*" said the Payupki chief.

The messenger went on, "If any one go out, let him have this in mind and return early."

"*Anchaaí!*" again said the chief.

Toward evening the Payupki people were ready and watching for the coming of the Wawásh Kafsínamŭ from Chukubi, and when the dancers arrived, the chief met them at the head of the trail. Then food was spread out on blankets in the plaza, and the fun began. No one escaped from the Kachinas, but all were overtaken and whipped. When the running was over, the Kachinas received some *naqúqŭsi* and were sent back home. The Kóyĕmsi, who were speakers for the Kachinas, called out to the Payupki people that it had been discovered they were not good runners. "Our boys have found that they can beat you, and it is likely they will come back soon."

"*Anchaaí!*" chorused the people.

When the Chukubi Kachinas reached their village, they talked over the fun they had had, and deprecated the running ability of their rivals. They forgot that they had twice been beaten.

The Payupki chief was displeased, because his son's hair had been cut much shorter than was the custom in this game, and he wondered how he could avenge the insult. He had a daughter about twelve years of age, whom he used to take out into the fields, and while they were hunting mice she would run after them and catch them. It seemed that she would make a good runner. One day he said, "My daughter, do you think you could make a good runner?"

"I do not know," she said. "I do not think a female would ever make a good runner. But I will try."

The chief was pleased with the answer, and took her to the field. She ran the length of the field and back, and she ran well. The following day this was repeated. Then her father said, "You must run once more by yourself, and then you will run with your brother." So on the fourth day she went to the field with her brother, and the two raced. The girl ran well, but did not quite beat her brother. The chief said, "We will see how it comes out after you have run together a few times." The next day they ran again, and this time she nearly caught the youth. On the third trial she beat him, and the fourth time he was badly beaten.

[1] Narrated by Wísti, of the Rabbit division of the Walpi Tobacco clan.

[2] This saying is still current, and means that there will be a Wawásh Kafsína dance in the evening. The origin of the phrase is not known. Any man may thus inaugurate a dance.

By this time the chief thought that his daughter could run well enough. He went to his kiva and said, "We will pay back what the Chukubi Wawash Katsinamû did to us."

The young men were delighted, and cried, "*Anchaai!*"

"I will go to them in two days," said the chief.

"*Anchaai!*" they shouted. "We thought it was going to be today."

"No, we will prepare and have it in two days. So if any of you wish to prepare today, you may do so."

"*Anchaai!*" they shouted.

On the morrow the chief procured some *iêhsi* [leather made by beating buffalo rawhide] and went to Katsin-ki ["Kachina house," a place among the rocks on the southeast side of East mesa, where personators of the Kachinas dress before the dance]. He told his daughter to follow him, and when she came, he made a Kachina mask for her with the leather. It was noon when he had finished it, and he went back to the village for his son, and then the three proceeded to the field where the running had been practised. There the mask was fitted on the girl, in order that she might test her ability to run with it. The youth started first as usual, but very quickly the girl overtook and passed him. This showed that she could run well, even with the mask on.

"*Lolomai* ['good']!" cried the chief. "This is what I wanted. We can go to Chukubi and pay them back!"

The next day he went to Chukubi, and when he had entered the kiva the men gave him a pipe, and after he had smoked, they asked, "What is it?"

"Yes," he said. "This morning the crow had green moccasins at this place."

"*Anchaai!*" cried the Chukubi men gladly, for they thought they would win as before. The chief went out, and no sooner had he gone than they began to make sport of his runners.

The chief returned to Payupki and went into the kiva, where he repeated, "The crow had green moccasins this morning."

"*Anchaai!*" shouted his men.

So all the day the people busied themselves in getting ready for the game. It was not known that the chief's daughter had been practising running and would play the Hômson Katsina. While the men were preparing in the kiva, the chief got ready everything for his daughter at Katsin-ki, painting the mask and tying feathers on it, and preparing the ceremonial sash and the fox-skin. Like some of the male Kachinas she was to wear a *tsziki* [cloth baldric], so that her breasts would be concealed.

After he had finished this work the chief returned to the kiva and started his men off to Chukubi. He then went back to Katsin-ki for his daughter. When the Kachinas were near Chukubi, they saw some one coming behind them, and thinking it was one of their number, they waited. But the straggler did not seem to come rapidly, so they proceeded. The girl kept behind until the men were in the village, and when they were in the plaza and the running was just about to begin, the Hômson Katsina entered.

The running began. The Kachinas seemed to be unable to catch the Chukubi young men. After a time Kalêmsa, one of their best runners, came toward the piles of food. Now, it was the custom for Hômson Katsina to pursue only those known to be good runners. So when Kalêmsa came forward, the word was given to Hômson Katsina to give chase. In a short distance the Kachina seized him and cut off a lock of his hair. Then Qoki, his brother, was angry. He took off his moccasins and stepped toward the Kachinas, crying out that he wished to have the same one pursue him. He ran, and the Kachina quickly caught him and cut off a lock of his hair. Now, one after another, the best runners stepped out, but every one lost some of his hair. Then the game ended, and the Chukubi people gave their *naqayiisi* to the winners and sent them home. But Hômson Katsina hurried away in advance of the others.

Now there was much talking among the Chukubi people, and speculation as to the identity of the new runner, but none could say who it was. The girl and her father went directly to Katsin-ki and buried the hair which she had won. The chief expressed his joy and thankfulness for the help his daughter had given him, and then the other Kachinas began to arrive. They now discovered who had personated Hômson Katsina.

It was not long after this that the Chukubi men heard that the runner who had cut off the hair of their best runners was only a girl. Then the chief summoned all his kiva men. This

was the Qíta-kiva ["excrement kiva" — the kiva of sorcerers]. When the sorcerers had assembled and smoked, they asked their chief what he wished.

He said: "Yes! You know that some time ago the people of Payupki outran all my runners and cut off the hair of many of my young men. I have been thinking about this, and since I have learned that it was a girl who did this, we will have a race and we will use sorcery."

Then they made their plans. It was decided that no woman could outrun a man in a long-distance race. In such a contest they thought they surely would win. The chief said: "We will wager our lives on this race. I feel very badly that my young men have lost their hair. So I am going over there this morning and notify them of another race."

When the sorcerer chief entered the kiva at Payupki, he was greeted kindly. "Sit down," they said, for they saw that he had his tobacco-pouch, which meant that he was on important business. The Payupki chief filled his pipe and smoked for good luck in the encounter which he knew was coming. When he had finished smoking, the visitor filled his own pipe and handed it to him, saying: "*I-ūnánsūŋwa* ['my heart-companion']!"

And the other answered, "*I-ūnánsūŋwa!*" [1]

When the smoking was ended, the Payupki chief asked, "What do you wish?"

"Yes," said the other. "In four days we will race. It will be between my runner and your girl runner. We will wager our heads: the winners shall behead the losers."

"*Anchaai!*" said the others bravely, though with heavy hearts.

"They will race from the plaza of this Payupki to Hûkyátvi and back again. So we will make our pahos on the third day." Then the visitor went out.

The Payupki men felt very badly, for they knew that a girl could not outrun a man for such a distance. That same day the chief took his daughter and his son into the field for another trial. He pointed out a certain cedar on the west side of the valley and told them to run to that tree and back. Both were to do their very best. So they started, the brother and the sister. When they turned at the tree, they were even. When they started homeward, the girl passed the youth, and she beat him by a goodly distance. Then the chief felt encouraged, thinking that perhaps after all he could in some way come out of this trouble. Still he knew the people at Chukubi were clever, for they had sorcery. He told his daughter that this would be the only trial, for she must rest the two days before the contest.

On the third day the people made their pahos. Each village had for its grandmother a Spider Woman, but the Spider Woman of Chukubi was more powerful than any other. During the making of pahos, each Spider Woman was present in the kiva in her spider form. At Payupki the Spider Woman made a short paho against the Chukubi runner. That night the old men said they would watch the pahos while the young men went to their supper, and when the young men returned, the old men went to their meal. For it was feared that their rivals, being wizards, might in some way spoil the pahos and thus cause defeat. Each party remained watching and singing all night. In the Payupki kiva the girl runner was present with the men.

The Chukubi people had two runners, who were going to use sorcery. One would take the form of a spherical gourd, and the other the form of a white dove. They placed their Spider Woman close to the pahos. She was to remain awake and watch them. About midnight she became sleepy, and the sorcerers were angry with her and slapped her face, saying: "You are of no account! You are becoming sleepy!" So they sent her out.

Then she felt angry, and she went to her home a little way from the pueblo and cried. She thought of a plan for revenge. She transformed herself into a small worm and crawled into the kiva, down the dark side of the ladder. There was light on the pile of pahos, and she could not get to them without discovery. But some one happened to move between them and the fire and cast a shadow on them. Then the worm crawled up to them and among them, and went down into the gourd into which one of the runners had been transformed. Inside the gourd was a contrivance tied up with sinews. This was what made the gourd able to roll along very swiftly. The worm gnawed at the sinews until they were nearly severed, and when this was done, it crawled out of the kiva. In her spider form the Spider Woman proceeded straight to Payupki, where she told the other Spider Woman what had occurred. She said, "My grandchildren at Chukubi have mistreated me, and so your grandchildren will win the race."

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[1] This is the form of address and reply used in smoking by men of equal rank. Only those of different rank say, "My father," and "My son."

She gave directions that early in the morning they should take their pahos and stand them in a row, and when the people came from Chukubi they would do likewise. Then the people would watch the pahos, and if any of them turned to a bright color, that would be a sign of good luck.

The next day the pahos were set up, and the Payupki pahos changed their color and became very bright, while those of Chukubi appeared dusty and old. The Payupki chief had prepared a ceremonial robe for his daughter, which she was to wear in the race.

From each row of pahos a line of meal was sprinkled in the direction in which they were to run. The gourd was placed on the line leading from the Chukubi pahos, and the girl took her place on the line leading from the Payupki pahos. The skin of a white dove, as well as the spirit of Kalêmsa, was inside the gourd. At the start the gourd immediately got in front of the girl. But she had the Payupki Spider Woman behind her ear, and about midway between the two mesas the other Spider Woman had spread her net across the course. When the rolling gourd struck this obstacle, it bounded back. Then the girl overtook it, and passing, said, "I will go ahead a little while."

"*Anchaai!*" said the gourd. While it was rolling forward and rebounding backward, trying to pass the net, the contrivance inside broke, and the gourd fell apart. Then the spirit of Kalêmsa went into the skin of the white dove, and the Dove flew after the girl, who was nearing the turning point at Pă-koi-tsomo.

Chicken-hawk was sitting there. He spoke to the girl: "Now run home, and run your best. I have not done my part yet. I am going to delay the Dove." Chicken-hawk was considered the girl's uncle, because the people of Payupki, when they went rabbit-hunting, always carried food to him. The Dove overtook the girl just as she was turning at this place. He said, "I will go ahead for a while." And he went swiftly on. Then Chicken-hawk watched. When the Dove was near Más-tsomo, Chicken-hawk dashed after him. But the Dove took refuge under a bush, and Chicken-hawk swooped down and plucked the feathers from one wing, which was exposed. He rose, and again dropped swiftly and plucked the feathers from the other wing. Again he swooped, and tore out the tail-feathers. While this was going on, the girl overtook them. "I will go on ahead for a while," she said.

Without its feathers the Dove could not fly, so the spirit of Kalêmsa resumed its human form and started after the girl. Now Chicken-hawk flew after her, and taking hold of the feather that was tied to her hair he flew swiftly forward, carrying her along. At the foot of the mesa he left her, and she ran on without assistance. The sorcerer was just coming in sight.

The people in the village were beginning to wonder, because they saw the girl ahead. She came in far in advance of the man, and the Payupki chief rejoiced. But the people of Chukubi said no word. When Kalêmsa came in, he pretended sickness as an excuse. The women and children began to weep, and the Chukubi chief spoke to the chief of Payupki, saying: "Now it is understood between us. The only thing to be done is to go on with it."

But the other said: "No, I do not want blood to be shed among all your people. I do not want all to be killed. But the runner shall pay for the life of the others." So the runner Kalêmsa was beheaded.

Then the Payupki chief said: "We will leave these villages. Nobody will live here."

So the Chukubi people went home and packed their possessions, and some went to Oraibi, some to Shongopavi, and others to Mishongnovi. The Payupki people buried the girl alive near the spring and then left the place, taking with them the two Natáaska Katsina masks. They went through the Gap of East mesa and travelled far eastward. This is a true tale.[1]

THE WALPI MAIDEN AND THE SORCERERS[2]

I-tŭwûñi! There was a very pretty girl living in a house on the street at the west side of the mesa. Her name was Sikyátsi-mana ["yellow-bird maid"]. Just opposite there was a family, some of whom were sorcerers. This family also had a pretty daughter, and she was a witch. The Warrior Chief lived in the apartment above that of the sorcerers.

[1] Payupki ("river house") was settled by refugees from the Rio Grande after the insurrection of 1680. In 1748 they returned to the east and settled in Sandia. The tale purports to account for the abandonment of Payupki.

[2] Narrated by Yóywûnû, of the Walpi Reed clan.

The parents of Sikyáʧsi-mana were in the habit of choosing some young man and telling her that she ought to marry him; but the maiden was unwilling to be married. Now the witch girl found a lover, and by chance Sikyátsi-mana took a fancy to the same youth. The witch girl went to the young man's home with her piki, and a few days later Sikyátsi-mana did the same. The parents of the young man, not knowing what to do in this unusual situation, used the piki of both girls. This displeased the sorcerers, and they planned to get rid of Sikyátsi-mana. By sorcery they took her heart, and she died a few days later. The body was buried below Növén-hawiwa [*növɛ́n*, a plant used for greens; *hánana*, a descent], the trail leading to Tawá-pa.

Her elder brother doubted that there was any real sickness in this, but thought it was witchcraft; and on the night of her death and burial, went with his bow and arrows down the trail and concealed himself among the rocks to watch the grave. It was not long before he heard the howling of a wolf in the valley. It came closer and closer, until it was near the grave, and then there came also the howling and barking of many coyotes approaching. He said to himself, "I thought there was something in it!"

The wolf reached the grave first, and the coyotes came flocking in. These were really the sorcerers, who had transformed themselves into wolf and coyotes by throwing skins over their shoulders, tying curving pieces of cottonwood roots to their feet for claws, and holding similar sticks in their hands. They began to dig, and soon uncovered the body, which they carried away along the trail to the terrace, where they turned to the left toward the ruin of Kisakobi. Close to the ruin they stopped, lifted a large bunch of grass that was growing there, and disappeared into the earth.

The young man was following them, and when they disappeared he looked down into the hole upon many people sitting in a circle. He wondered what he should do, where he could obtain help, and he thought of the Warrior Chief, whose duty it was to act in such situation. So he ran up to the village. He found the Warrior Chief smoking. The chief knew at once that it was something important, so without the usual formality of waiting, he asked, "What is it?"

"Yes," said the young man. "You know my sister died this morning. Tonight I went down to watch. I found that the sorcerers have taken her out and carried her away. I saw them go on the other side of the mesa. They went down into the ground. I had not the courage to go after them, and I have come to ask if you will help me."

The Warrior Chief answered: "I cannot say no. I must go with you." He dressed himself in his war-cap and his deerskin mantle and his *tóziki* [a rope of twisted deerskin thongs passing over one shoulder and under the other, and worn as his badge of office]. He took his lance and his small *tála-wipiki* ["light zigzag" — an arrangement of wooden slats so put together, lattice-work fashion, that with one movement it can be shot out to some length, and with another withdrawn and folded up], and his war-club. Then the two started, running down the trail to the place where the sorcerers had disappeared. The young man lifted the bunch of grass, and they went down the ladder, the Warrior Chief following the young man. At the bottom of the ladder they sat down unobserved, for the power of the Warrior Chief was at work.

The sorcerers were finishing their smoke. The chief, a huge, ugly, bald-headed old man, said, "It is time to get at our work!" He gave out his orders. A woman's dress was spread on the floor, and the body of the girl was laid on it and covered with another garment. Then the singing began. After four songs the girl began to move, and they took off the covering and removed all her clothing. Before the singing three persons had been chosen to impersonate the girl's father, mother, and brother, because when she returned to life it was probable that she would call for these relatives. So it was. The girl called for her mother, and the sorcerer chosen for this duty answered her. She called for her father and her brother, and each time a sorcerer answered. Then the one who was personating the mother rubbed the girl's body.

When the girl was quite herself again, the chief gave orders that a space in the middle of the room should be cleared. The people moved back, and the chief spread some blankets on the floor and commanded the girl to lie on them. She obeyed, and the old man, feeble with age, crept out from his place. He was just about to ravish the maiden when the Warrior Chief whispered to his companion, "Take her out from under him."

The young man cried out, "What are you doing?" He seized his sister and dragged her

away from the old man. The old sorcerer demanded: "How is it that you have entered our house? Nobody has ever entered it before. Perhaps you are a man. We will find out."

The young man drew his sister back and placed her behind him and in front of the Warrior Chief.

It was now to be a contest of magic between the two chiefs. The fire was extinguished, and the Warrior Chief placed the youth at his left and the girl at his right, and set his shield before them. The sorcerer chief commanded his people to get their weapons ready. Each sorcerer had many *suchávа* [Olivella shells], porcupine-quills, and cactus-thorns, which they began to throw at the intruders. But the missiles struck only harmlessly against the shield. Soon the sorcerer chief said: "It is enough. It does not take this long to kill anyone." The fire was relighted; but unobserved the Warrior Chief had removed his shield, and there the three sat, apparently unprotected, yet unharmed.

Now the sorcerer chief was surprised, and he told his opponents to try what they could do. The fire was again extinguished, and the Warrior Chief opened his jars, one containing bumble-bees, and another honeybees. The bees swarmed out and attacked the sorcerers, stinging them in the face and all over the body. Soon the sorcerers began to beg for mercy, and just before the fire was relighted, the bees swarmed back into the jars.

Then the sorcerer chief said they would try another contest. The fire was put out, and the Warrior Chief again set up his shield. This time the sorcerers used larger *suchávа*, and when they thought they must surely have killed their opponents, the fire was rekindled; but still the three were unharmed.

Said the sorcerer chief: "I think you are a man! You have beaten us twice. Try what you can do."

The fire was extinguished, and the Warrior Chief used his two lightning-sticks, the great lightning twice and the small lightning twice, then the great one twice again and the small twice again. The flashing lightning filled the room and struck all the sorcerers and cut them to pieces. Then the Warrior Chief said to his companions: "Let us hurry out of this place! The sorcerers are clever, and they may come to life and do us harm before we escape." So they hastened up the ladder.

No sooner had they gone than the sorcerers began to recover, reaching this way and that for their heads, arms, and legs. Several heads were misplaced, and attached to the wrong bodies; but when they discovered their mistakes, they exchanged the misplaced members. Some did not get their legs placed on their bodies properly, and these were ever after lame. Others got their eyes improperly placed, and these were blind or imperfect of vision. Others had their eyes burned by the lightning, and these had gray eyes. This was the origin of lameness, blindness, and gray eyes.

Now the sorcerers began to discuss what they should do. Some said, "We will fall off the houses and kill ourselves." Others said they would fall as they walked, others that they would fall dead from stepping on small slivers of wood, some that they would fall down into the sorcerers' kiva and thus kill themselves. For having been discovered at their witchcraft, they felt that it was necessary for them to die.

The girl's brother and the Warrior Chief took the maiden to her home, and after the sorcerers had decided how they were to die, they also went home. The Warrior Chief now made a plan by which the girl was to be shown to the people. For if she should reappear right after her burial, they would not believe that she had been restored by any means but sorcery. He told the younger man to go to the chief of the Yáya priests, and ask if he would perform his ceremony, and if in doing it he would call the girl back from her grave.

When the young man reached the house of Yáya-monwi on this same night, he found him sleeping. He awoke the chief and gave him a smoke, and when, after the smoke, Yáya-monwi asked, "What is it you wish?" the young man explained what had happened and made his request. The chief said he could do it, and promised to perform his ceremony in eight days, announcing it on the morrow. The young man then returned to the Warrior Chief and told him that it had been arranged. The girl was to be kept concealed in the house during the eight days.

On the following morning the Crier Chief announced that the Yáya fraternity would have their ceremony in eight days. Four days later it was Yúnya, and the Yáyatû began to make ready their secret objects for performing magic. On Totókya night the young man went to

Yáya-moṇwi and asked what he should do with his sister, and the chief said, "Early in the morning take her down to the grave and hide her among the rocks." So the young man prepared for his sister new moccasins and a new dress, and she put them on. Early in the morning he led her to the grave and dug out a shallow place under a rock for her to lie in. Then he returned home.

When the Yáyatû began their work for the day, they performed several feats of magic before the one of recalling the girl from her grave. About noon some of the priests came out from Ál-kiva and went among the houses, seizing upon various objects such as broken pots from the chimneys, rags, and other worthless things, and throwing them among the people. Whenever they came to a store-house they would seize provisions and throw them among the people, who would scramble for them. After this they returned to Ál-kiva, and while standing on the roof they called out, "Sikyátsi-mana, who died some days ago, rise out of the grave and come here!" Each one called in his turn. The people, suddenly astonished, watched, and when the last one had called, the girl appeared among the rocks and walked up the trail to the terrace. The Yáya priests kept calling more and more loudly, as she approached, and when she reached the mesa they called, "Hurry, hurry!" She began to run, and when she arrived at Ál-kiva, each Yáya priest embraced her. She was taken into the kiva with the Yáyatû, and after a little while they all came out with her. She went among the houses with them, and then all returned to the kiva. Whenever they came out to perform one of their magic feats, she accompanied them and assisted the singers.

At the close of the ceremony the girl's brother went to the kiva, and she returned home with him. The Warrior Chief went to their house and advised her parents that they must take good care of her and never scold her. "For," he said, "she was dead, and it is very likely that any food she prepares will not become thoroughly cooked." [1]

They were kind to her for a time, but one day her mother became displeased because of her poor cooking, and forgetting the counsel of the Warrior Chief she scolded her daughter. The girl felt sad, and immediately sickened and died.

It was after this that the sorcerers began to kill themselves in the manner they had severally planned; but before they all were dead, the few remaining ones decided not to kill themselves, and their descendants are still sorcerers. *Paiyásava!*

THE POOR BOYS AND THE SORCERERS [2]

I-ɬɬwûßi! People were living at Kuchaptuvela and at Kisakobi. The Qíta [sorcerer] chief called in the members of his kiva, and when they had assembled, they said: "*Taaí* ['go on']*! Hímûû* ['what']*?*"

"*Owé!*" responded the chief. "There are too many children, and we must get rid of them. I have found the way. We will create a *cháveyu* [giant]."

"*Anchaaí!*" said the sorcerers.

So the chief appointed men to procure juniper-bark, and when it was brought they made it into a human effigy and put a crystal into it for the heart and shells for the liver and the lungs. Then they placed it between two ceremonial robes and sang over it. While they sang, it became alive, and they removed the covering. There lay a huge giant. He rose and spoke out in a loud voice, "What do you want of me?"

"*Owé!*" said the chief. "There are too many children and we want you to eat them."

"*Alí* ['good eating']*!*" exclaimed the giant. "And what place will be my home?"

"You will go to Siqí-teika [a cliff a few miles north and west of Walpi on the opposite side of the valley]."

"*Anchaaí!*" said the giant. He departed, and prepared his home in the cliff, and he excavated pits in the rock for roasting the children. That very night he went to Kisakobi, and passed from one house to another, demanding a child from each family, and he would not go until one was given to him. He put the children in a basket on his back, and thus carried away several children every night.

At Kuchaptuvela a poor old woman lived with her two little grandsons a short distance from the main part of the village. She became fearful that her two boys would be taken by

[1] The dead, it is thought, do not cook their food.

[2] Narrated by Wísti, of the Rabbit division of the Walpi Tobacco clan.

the giant: for at the rate he was coming he would soon reach her house. One day she sent them to the cliff at Kanél-va for wood of which to make bows and arrows. So they obtained the wood and prepared it for weapons. They secured wing-feathers of bluebirds and robins, and finished the arrows. This was done on the day before the giant in the course of his rounds in Kuchaptuvela would arrive at their house.

The next night they waited for him. They heard his heavy footsteps, and his rough voice demanding a child. But the old woman said, "No, I will not give my grandsons to you."

"You will!" he shouted. "I must have them!"

"If you want them so much, come yourself and get them," she said.

"I will," he rumbled. He came into the house. The two little boys were sitting beside the fire with their bows and arrows, and when he started toward them, they stood up and ran around him, one on each side, and shot him through the heart. He fell dead. Then the old woman was frightened, for she feared the sorcerers. So they dug a hole behind the ladder and buried the body, and she scraped up the blood and spread a new covering of earth.

Now the next night the sorcerers at Kisakobi wondered why their giant did not come as usual, and on the following day they sent two men to Siqí-teika. They found his tracks going toward the village, and followed them to the house occupied by the two little boys and the poor old woman. Then they returned to their kiva and made their report. Some wondered if these children had been able to kill their giant, others doubted. It was decided to wait and see if he would not appear that night. But he did not come.

Nevertheless they waited until the next night, and then the Qíta chief summoned his men. A young man said: "It might be that those little boys have killed our giant. Such things happen. A poor child sometimes has very good luck." So the mother of the sorcerers was sent for, a witch who was a member of their kiva. She bathed, and rubbed from her body some cuticle, which she made into the form of a wren, and by singing they gave it life.

"What do you want?" asked Wren.

"*Owé!*" said the chief. "Our giant has disappeared, and we want you to find him."

"*Anchaai!*" said Wren, and flitted away through the kiva hatchway.

The bird went hopping about the cliff at the giant's home, searching for him. Then it came to the house of the old woman and the two little boys, and hopped in. When the old woman saw it, she said: "That bird is a sorcerer! It is looking for the giant."

After flitting about the house, the Wren flew out and returned to the Qíta-kiva, and reported that he had not been able to find the giant.

The witch-mother rolled another ball of cuticle, of which they made a *más-tovi* ["corpse fly"]. The big, buzzing Fly asked, "What do you want of me?"

"We want you to find our giant," they said. And the Fly buzzed straight to the home of the poor old woman. It flew about the house, and then went in. The old woman said, "What is this fly doing here?" She suspected that it was an agent of the sorcerers. But the Fly found nothing until just as he was going out, when he detected the odor of a corpse. He went back and alighted on the floor, and when he was certain that he had found the body, he returned to the Qíta-kiva.

"What have you found?" inquired the chief.

"Yes, I have found your giant. He is buried behind the ladder in the home of the two poor little boys and the poor old woman."

Then the young man said: "I have told you that poor people sometimes do such things. You see they have killed our giant."

It was agreed that the two boys and their grandmother should be killed, and a man was sent to them. The grandmother greeted him kindly. He filled his pipe and handed it to her, and she gave it to her boys, who passed it back and forth until it was smoked out. Then she asked, "What is it you want?"

"The sorcerers have decided to kill you and your boys in four days," said the man. And the old woman and the little boys were very downcast.

The next day she sent the boys to see if they could not find some green plants and thus prove themselves powerful. For it was midwinter. They went a short distance and on the side of the cliff they found a spring beside which green grass was growing. They pulled up the grass, put mud about its roots, and carried it a little way from the spring, where they placed it under a rock and sat down to rest. While they sat there a man appeared before them.

"What are you doing here?" asked he.

"We are just resting," they answered. "We have been wandering along, and now we are resting."

"I know what you are doing," he said, "and I have come for you."

"Where are you from?" they inquired.

"I am from Kisiuû [the home of the Kachinas]. You must go with me." He laid on the ground a *pá-tûwota* ["water-shield"]. The boys, at his direction, stepped on the shield with him, and it immediately began to revolve rapidly, rose in the air with them, and carried them quickly to Kisiuû. They were carried down into the spring, and the Kachinas treated them kindly. The chief said, "Have you come?"

"Yes," they said.

"I have sent this man for you, so that we may arrange about the way you shall escape from your trouble. The only thing you must do when they come to kill you is to call on the Kachinas. Tell your grandmother that she is the first one to call us, and you two will be the next. When we start, you will see clouds in this direction. Keep calling us, saying: 'They have started, they are on their way, they are coming.' Keep saying this until we reach the village. This is all you have to do. We will do the rest."

Then the Kachinas gave them melons and corn, and the man who had brought them took them home on the water-shield. When they arrived, their grandmother was surprised to see the fruits they had brought, and she was very happy. For she knew this to be a sign that they would in some way escape from their trouble.

The next evening the Kisakobi chief came to them. He said: "I will be on your side, and the Warrior Chief also will be on your side. We will see how it is to be done." One of the sorcerers, a young man, also was in favor of the poor family. Altogether there were eleven men against the sorcerers. When the chief had finished talking, he smelled the melons and said, "Where do you find melons?"

The boys said, "Give the poor man melons." So she gave the chief some of the fruit.

The chief went home, where the Warrior Chief and the friendly sorcerer were awaiting him. They asked what they were to do, and he told them to make pahos the next day. The two boys also had been instructed to make pahos at their house. So the next day was the day for paho-making, and the sorcerers were in their kiva at this work.

On the morrow the boys and the old woman were to be killed. The sorcerers were the first to show their power, and they planted seeds and sang over them in the plaza. They were dressed like Kachinas. The corn sprouted and came up, but it did not grow high. They performed the ceremony now represented in the Kachina dance in which lightning is sent out from behind a curtain, and snow and rain are made to fall, and Pá-lölökanû ["water bullsnake"] knocks over the corn plants. When they had finished, they thought they had demonstrated greater power than the others could show, and bade the old woman and the little boys show what they could do. All these three had was their pahos and a basket of meal. The old woman threw some meal toward Kisiuû, and called for the Kachinas, and clouds were seen in that direction. "There they are!" she cried. Then one of the boys threw meal toward Kisiuû, and said, "They have started." The other did the same thing, and said, "They are coming." The woman took the meal and cried, "They are coming in sight!"

While all this was being done, the sorcerers were angry and disgusted. "These people can do nothing," they said. "They are only taking up time." They wished to kill them at once. But the people said they would wait and see what happened.

The old woman again called for the Kachinas, and now they were seen coming up the trail. As they approached the village, the old woman said, "Let us go to meet them!" So the woman and the two boys met the Kachinas at the edge of the village and escorted them to the plaza, where the visitors at once prepared the ground, spreading sand in which they planted all kinds of seeds. Then they danced and sang, and real clouds appeared and real rain fell. It rained constantly while they danced, and the seeds at once sprouted and grew up, and quickly bore fruit, which in a little while was mature. Then they told the boys to distribute the fruits among all the people. The Kisakobi chief, the Warrior Chief, the old woman, and the two boys gave pahos to the Kachinas, who then departed.

Now the chief said that he did not wish any to be killed. "It is for the sorcerers to find a way to rid us of them. Since you boys have more power than anybody else, I do not want

to be the chief hereafter. You must take my place." The sorcerer who had favored the poor family said: "I knew these boys would get out of trouble in some way. And now the sorcerers must find a way to die."

From that time the sorcerers began to die off. Some fell into the kiva and thus killed themselves, others died as they walked. All perished except the one who had favored the poor family, and from him are descended the sorcerers of the present day. *Paiyáyava!*

DESTRUCTION OF THE BIRD MONSTER QÁTUKUA[1]

I-tdewûfiti! People were living at Kuchaptuvela. The great bird Qátukua [a mythic creature now identified with the condor] was in the country at that time. A woman was carried away from the village one day when she went a little way from the house, and when she failed to return, her husband went to search for her. He trailed her outside the village, but the trail ended without any returning footprints. So he wandered about in his search, and in the valley midway between the two mesas he saw the tracks of Qátukua and the woman. By this he knew that she had been carried away.

The next day he went to San Francisco mountains, the home of Qátukua, and as he was nearing the mountains, he saw somebody among the foothills. It was a large, ugly man. When the traveller approached, the man said, "*Ûm-pita* ['you have come']?"

"Yes," said the traveller, and he entered the house. The man gave him food, but the food was grass. Seeing that his guest did not eat, the man brought from another room juniper-berries that had been boiled and ground. This the guest ate.

As he ate, the man asked, "Where are you going?"

Then the traveller told how Qátukua had stolen his wife and how he was searching for her; and the big man said: "I know about this. I saw Qátukua pass this house with your wife." He gave the traveller his great coat, which was made of juniper-bark, but was so polished with piñon-gum that it glistened like a crystal. For this man was Pachípqasa, the great lizard. He said: "Qátukua has a coat that resembles this. It is made of ice, but mine is made of bark polished with piñon-gum, so that it looks like the ice coat of Qátukua. I give you this because I know that you will have to contend with him, and it will be useful to you." Then after instructing him as to the use of the coat, he sent the traveller on, saying, "There is another person waiting for you halfway up the mountain." So the man resumed his journey.

As he was going along, he met another person. This was Mole, who spoke, saying, "Have you come?"

"Yes," answered the man. He received some roots to eat, and explained the reason of his journey, whereupon Mole promised his assistance.

When the man reached the house of Qátukua, he entered at once. He saw the great ice coat hanging on the wall, and put it on in place of the Lizard's coat, which he hung on the wall. Then he went into the inner room, where he beheld Qátukua.

"Sit down," said Qátukua. "Why have you come? No man has ever been here."

"I have come for my wife, whom you stole," said the man.

"*Haó! Anchaai! Hintani* ['so, all right, we will see about it']," said Qátukua. He filled and lighted his pipe and handed it to the man, telling him to inhale the smoke and hold it. But while the man was smoking, Mole came up through his burrow and made an opening through the ground in the place where the man was sitting. So when he inhaled the smoke, it passed through him, down into the burrow, and out into the valley below. He smoked the pipe out and returned it to Qátukua.

Then Qátukua said: "We will try something else, and if you succeed in this you shall have your wife and all the others who are here." So the two went out. There were four pines in a row, and Qátukua challenged him to throw them down. Now Mole had already been gnawing at the roots of the trees, so that when the man grasped and shook them, they were easily thrown over.

But Qátukua said: "There is one thing more. We will climb, each of us, on a great pile of wood and we will set fire to it and see which one comes out alive." He went into the house and took down the coat of Lizard, not aware of the exchange. Each one climbed on a pile of wood, and some of the servants of Qátukua placed fire beneath them. When the fire blazed

[1] Narrated by Lomási, of the Walpi Badger clan.

up, it burned Qátukua to ashes, because he had on a coat of bark, while the man escaped, because the melting ice of his coat extinguished the flames.

When Qátukua was burned up the man went into the house where the people were imprisoned, and found his wife and many others, some from every tribe in this country. Many were on the point of starvation, others were still able to walk. These he led down the mountain and directed to their several homes. He returned then to Kuchaptuvela with his wife, and there he drew on a rock the picture of Qátukua as a memorial of his victory. *Paiyásava!* [1]

A RACE BETWEEN CHICKEN-HAWK AND THE ANTELOPE [2]

I-tâwûßi! People were living at Sikyatki and others below Növêñ-hawiwa [one of the trails on the east side of East mesa]. The people of Sikyatki planned a game of *sosótükpi*, for it was the moon Pá-mûya. So they sent a messenger to Növêñ-hawiwa, and standing at the foot of the ladder he said, "Prepare your wood for the night."

"*Anchaaí!*" responded the men.

"We are going to play *sosótükpi*," said the messenger.

"*Anchaaí!*" answered the men again. Then the messenger returned to Sikyatki.

That night the Sikyátkitû came with their drum, singing as they walked. In the kiva the people of Növêñ-hawiwa took their place on the north side and the people of Sikyatki on the south side. The latter set up the wooden cups, and the others knocked them over and won. So the play went on, and in the end the Sikyatki men were beaten. The wager was the clothing of the players, cotton shirts and cotton leggings.

The Sikyatki men returned home, and it was arranged that the others should visit them and play on the following night. So the people of Növêñ-hawiwa went with their drum, singing as they walked, and when they assembled in the kiva, they set up the cups and the others knocked them over and won. But the visitors recovered the cups and continued to win until the game was decided in their favor. This time they won nearly all the clothing remaining to the losers.

Now the Növêñ-hawiwa men challenged the Sikyátkitû to play on the next night. For the third time Sikyatki lost, and this time they had wagered their wives. Once more they played, and the Sikyatki men lost their sisters and their nephews.

Then they were angry, and quarrelled among themselves before they went home. All night they continued to bicker and accuse one another and lament their bad luck, and finally they decided to challenge the others to a race. Chicken-hawk, who lived in the side of the cliff, was their champion. They sent a messenger to apprise him of the race, and another to challenge the men of Növêñ-hawiwa. They made a paho for Chicken-hawk, and some *kômi* [a food prepared by mixing a dough of sweet-corn meal and baking it]. Chicken-hawk was pleased with the gifts, and when the messenger told him what bad luck they had had and how they now wished to run a race, he said, "If I win, I will cut off the head of my opponent; but if I lose, he shall cut off my head." With this answer the messenger returned home.

Now the Növêñ-hawiwa people, having accepted the challenge, wondered what they could do. They thought of all the birds of the air, but could not agree on any one of them. Morning came, and they were still undecided. A little boy, unnoticed in a far corner of the kiva, came forward to the fire, filled a pipe, and smoked. Everybody was watching him, for it was very unusual that so obscure a person should fill a pipe. When he had smoked, they said: "*Taaí!* What do you think?"

"Yes," he answered. "We have never thought of them."

"What is it?" they inquired.

"I am thinking of the Antelope. You never thought of them. I believe they will do."

All agreed with him and said it was a good thought. So they began to gather dry, punk-like, cottonwood roots and with them made *pâts-vaho* ["flat paho"] [3] for the Antelope.

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[1] See Fewkes in *American Anthropologist*, N. S., Vol. 8, No. 2, pages 362-363. Fewkes calls the monster bird Kwataka, Eagle Man, but all informants questioned on this subject insisted that the translation is incorrect. *Táka* is quite plainly not the second element of the word.

[2] Narrated by Lomási, of the Walpi Badger clan.

[3] "Flat pahos" are made for all the large game animals. The dry root is cut down flat on both sides and rubbed smooth on sandstone until it is about three fingers wide and five inches long. Feathers from the side of a turkey are bound to it.

While this was going on, Chicken-hawk was practising his running. He said that the race would be from Növén-hawiwa to Sûs-tavaṇ-tûqi ["first western mountain" — the westernmost of the Hopi buttes] and back to the village. On the third day at noon the people of Növén-hawiwa had finished making their pahos and had filled several baskets. The pahos were placed then in a ceremonial robe, and the little boy who had proposed the Antelope was told to carry them by way of Ôs-teika past Awatobi and so to Tsó-pa ["antelope spring" — Jeditoh], and then on a little distance below the spring, where he would meet one of the Antelope.

When the boy reached the place below Tsó-pa it was dusk, and as he walked along he saw a dim white object before him. He went forward and saw a girl in white cotton clothing. "*Ûm-pita* ['you have come']," she greeted him. "Let us go on. There is no time to be wasted." She led him southward, and as they neared the Hopi buttes they came upon some great bunches of green grass. One of these the girl lifted aside, disclosing an opening into the earth. A voice below bade them enter.

Now before starting from home the boy had received instructions as to what he should do when he met the Antelope people. The old men gave him a place among them, and he watched them carefully. When they lighted their pipes, he lighted his and smoked. The chief handed the boy his pipe, and after taking four puffs he returned it and went on smoking his own.

There were two rooms in the house, the one in which the boy was received being filled with men, and the one adjoining it being occupied by women and girls. When the chief directed that food be given the guest, the girls placed before him grass and green stuff of all kinds; but the boy only looked at it. The chief ordered something else to be brought, and a piece of *mûmâs-piki* was placed before him. He broke it in two and ate a single piece. When the remainder was cleared away from before him, the Antelope chief asked: "What is it? Nobody ever has entered our house. It seemed that you had forgotten us. We think you must have something important, else you would not have come."

Then the boy related how the Sikyatki people had been beaten, and how they had announced a race. Said the chief: "All right! Since you have brought these pahos for us, we will help you." Then he inquired of his young men, "Who will run for the people of Növén-hawiwa?" But none volunteered, because they had been told that the loser would be beheaded. The chief asked a second time for volunteers, but still there was silence. At last a voice in the other room said, "I will run for them."

"Are you in earnest about this?" inquired the chief.

"Yes, I will run the race, and either win it or lose my head."

Then the brother of the girl who had spoken said, "I will help my sister in running this race." And the chief thanked them.

The brother and sister then distributed pahos among the Antelope men, and the remainder among the women. When this was finished, the chief directed that two young men take the boy home, so that he would not be long on the way. Two men volunteered for this duty, and after leaving the kiva they assumed the antelope form and the boy placed his arms around their necks. So they started running, the boy swinging between them. At Ôs-teika they left him.

When the boy reported the answer of the Antelope, the people rejoiced, and the following morning was spent in making pahos. At noon came the Sikyatki men with their drum, singing as they walked to Növén-hawiwa, and Chicken-hawk flew along above them, swooping down and rising high in the air. He felt certain of winning, and was proud of his swiftness. The people were shouting and singing. When they reached Növén-hawiwa they called, "Hurry, come out!" Chicken-hawk alighted on a shaft of rock and waited. Then the Növén-hawiwa people came out of their kiva and started toward Tawá-pa, where the race was to start. They planted two pahos, drew a line between them, and sprinkled meal along the line. The Sikyatki men gathered around the south end of the line and the others about the north end. The former constantly urged haste, crying: "Where is your runner? Come, hurry!" And Chicken-hawk kept calling, "People, where is your runner?" But the others said little. They were watching in the direction from which the Antelope were expected to come.

Before the two Antelope started, their chief made two cornhusk cigarettes, which the girl placed in her belt. Then in their antelope form they set out, and near Tawá-pa they became little antelope fawns. When they reached the spring and the crowds of waiting people, the men of Növén-hawiwa felt much downcast, for they had no confidence in these young antelope. The fawns were sweating and appeared to be already exhausted. A knife of flint was laid on

the line between the two pahos, and the Sikyatki chief called his runner down from his perch on the rock. Chicken-hawk swooped down and perched on the line beside the two fawns. He said: "Now on this day we will race. On this day one of us will lose his head. If I am the swifter, I will behead both of you. If you outrun me in this race, you shall behead me." Then he announced that all was ready, and the people responded together, "*Anchaai!*" The race began.

As soon as the Antelope were below Tawá-pa they resumed their form of mature antelope. By this time Chicken-hawk was already turning at Ôs-teika and starting down the valley; for the race was to be around Sûs-tavaṇ-tûqi. Now the Antelope began to run. When Chicken-hawk was turning at Sûs-tavaṇ-tûqi they overtook him, and after rounding the butte they passed him. Chicken-hawk had two rabbit-sticks, and as the Antelope passed, he threw one of the sticks. But when the Antelope heard the whizzing of the missile behind them, they suddenly lay down, and it passed harmlessly over them. Then Chicken-hawk threw the other stick, which they avoided in the same manner. Soon he passed them, saying, "I will take the lead for a while." But as soon as he had passed, the Antelope quickly lay down, and Antelope Girl took out a cigarette, lighted it from the rays of the sun, smoked two puffs, and buried the stump in the sand. The smoke that she exhaled formed clouds before her, and quickly a heavy rain fell and wet the feathers of Chicken-hawk. In a short time they overtook him lying under a bush. Said Antelope Girl, "You are still here?"

"Yes," he answered.

"We will go on ahead for a while."

"*Anchaai!*" he said. As soon as they had passed, he began to flap his wings, trying to dry his feathers, and when they were dry he flew on after the Antelope. In the valley he overtook them again, but when he passed, Antelope Girl smoked two puffs of the other cigarette, and another rain fell and wet the feathers of their opponent. They found him sitting among the rocks, all wet and bedraggled, and they passed on, saying, "We will take the lead for a while."

Sitting among the rocks in the adobe clay, Chicken-hawk got his wings muddy, and had a hard time cleaning them. The Antelope were now approaching Ôs-teika and headed toward Tawá-pa, and when they came to where they had left their fawn-skins, they quickly got into them and from then on hobbled along slowly and with pretended difficulty. At this time Chicken-hawk was at Ôs-teika. When the Antelope reached the waiting people, they stumbled and rolled across the line just before their opponent dashed past them and alighted on his rock. Then all the people of Növên-hawiwa gave a great shout, but the Sikyátkitû were silent.

When the Antelope had recovered their breath, the Sikyatki chief called his runner down from the rock. Chicken-hawk flew down and sat beside the two fawns. Looking up toward the sun, he said: "I shall see the sun no more. My life is going to end. I have lost, and you have beaten me, so you shall behead me as I myself stipulated." The Növên-hawiwa chief then grasped the flint knife, cut off the head of Chicken-hawk, opened the breast, and removed the heart, which he buried a short distance from that place in a hole the depth of his arm. He built a small three-sided cell with a slab of stone on the top, as Chicken-hawk had requested, saying: "If any one wishes to be strong in running, he shall pray there and I will give him strength. If any one wishes to get rabbits, he shall make offerings there, and I will give him good luck in hunting rabbits. For I am a good rabbit-hunter, and the man who prays at this shrine where my heart is buried will have my luck to catch rabbits and to run swiftly."[1]

All the members of the Sikyatki kiva were killed and beheaded, and the two Antelope were sent home with pahos tied to their legs. *Paiyásava!*

PORCUPINE AND COYOTE[2]

I-tâwûsi! Porcupine lived at Mûṇvá-ovi ["porcupine high-place" — near the trail between Oraibi and Middle mesa], and Coyote, his friend, not far away. At the end of one of Porcupine's visits, he invited Coyote to eat at his house on the following day. But when his guest arrived, Porcupine said: "Well, my friend, there is nothing I can give you to eat. The children have eaten all the food. But gather some wood and make a big fire, and I will see what can be done."

[1] The shrine is called Ûnáṇ-taṇa ("heart in").

[2] Narrated by Yóywûnû, of the Walpi Reed clan.

So Coyote built a fire, and Porcupine secured piñon-bark. From the house he brought a greasewood stick, sharp and pointed. He laid the bark before him and thrust the stick into his nose. Blood flowed, and he allowed it to drip on the bark. This he placed in the fire to roast, and while it was cooking it became meat, which he gave to Coyote. After the feast was ended, the visitor invited Porcupine to his house for the next day.

So on the morrow Porcupine was greeted with the same words he had addressed to Coyote on the previous day, and like Coyote, he proceeded without a word to gather wood and to build a large fire. Coyote now brought forth some piñon-bark and a sharp stick. He pushed the stick up into his nose. But no blood came, and he thrust the stick far up and pushed it so hard that it went into his brain. Then his nose began to bleed profusely. He stooped over the bark and let the blood drip on it, and he laid the pieces in the fire to roast. It began to burn like any bark, and though Coyote tried to blow out the flame, pitch on the bark prevented him. So the bark burned up and would not turn into meat. By this time Coyote was beginning to grow dizzy with loss of blood, and soon he fell dead. *Paiyásava!*

COYOTES FAIL TO CATCH THE YOUNG CROWS[1]

I-tấwûñi! At Ís-mo-wala ["coyote mouth gap" — a place south of Oraibi, so called from a fancied resemblance to the mouth of a coyote] Coyote was living. One day he went rabbit-hunting down the valley to Síu-ñomo ["onion knoll"], and while wandering along he came upon a nest of crows among the rocks. He could not quite reach them, so he started home for help, and on the way he killed a rabbit.

The next morning he boiled the rabbit, and going out a little way from his home, he howled and barked toward the north. Soon there came a Coyote running at full speed. He dashed up, made a sharp turn, and stopped.

"What is it?" he asked.

"While I was hunting rabbits," said the other, "I found a nest of young crows, and I want you to help me get them."

"*Ali* ['good eating']!" said the newcomer.

Coyote then repeated his howling and barking toward the west, and another Coyote came running from that direction. Thus also he brought a Coyote from the south, and another from the east. After he had explained his purpose to the last arrival, they ate the rabbit and set out for the crows' nest.

Having reached the place they began to ponder how they should get at the crows. They decided to suspend themselves downward from the upper edge of the rock, one holding the other, and the smallest going first. It was determined also that they should keep their eyes closed, so as to avoid dizziness. The smallest was lowered over the edge by the next larger, who held his tail in his mouth. Then the next larger took hold of the tail of the second one, and so it went. But when the largest was holding the weight of the other four suspended below him, still the first could not quite reach the crows. He called to the one at the top of the rock to come a little closer to the edge. At this point the Coyote in the middle of the line opened his eyes to see how far the first one was from the nest. The two below him were straining so hard to bridge the intervening distance that the anus of each was stretched wide, and excrement was being squeezed out. At this sight he laughed aloud, and the two below him plunged to the bottom. The fourth Coyote opened his eyes to see what was the matter, and observing the one below him in the same condition that had caused so much merriment, he too burst out laughing and let the one below him fall. The one on the edge of the cliff now opened his eyes and began to laugh at the same sight, and thus the fourth fell, while the last one laughed so heartily that he fell off the cliff and perished with the other four. *Paiyásava!*

[1] Narrated by Yóywûnû, of the Walpi Reed clan.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

TRIBAL SUMMARY

LANGUAGE — Shoshonean.

POPULATION — Espejo in 1583 ascribed to a single Hopi village, Awatobi, a population of 50,000, but as all of Espejo's population figures are vastly exaggerated, his word in this respect should not be taken seriously. In 1680 the following estimates were given: Awatobi, 800; Shongopavi, 500; Walpi, 1200. Oraibi was said to have, prior to this time, 14,000 inhabitants — another instance of carelessness with ciphers. On the whole it seems safe to say that the population of Tusayan in the middle of the seventeenth century was not greater than 5000. The present Hopi population, including the Tewa, is about 2000. The following pueblos are occupied: at East mesa, Walpi, Sichomovi, Hano (Tewa); at Middle mesa, Shongopavi, Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi; at West mesa, Oraibi, Hotavila, Pakavi. There are also about 2000 Navaho on the Hopi reservation.

DRESS — The primitive costume for men included a straight-sleeved or sleeveless shirt of undyed native cotton, worn like a poncho; knitted cotton leggings reaching halfway up the thighs; cotton loin-cloth; moccasins of deerskin or sandals of cleverly woven yucca-leaves; strings of turquois beads for ear-pendants; necklaces of various berries and seeds; and a cotton head-band. Leggings were worn only in cold weather, and moccasins in snow or on a rough trail. Ordinarily only shirt and loin-cloth were used, and not uncommonly the former was discarded. In recent years Hopi men have worn calico shirts cut on the old pattern, cotton trousers extending to mid-calf, and moccasins. Commercial garments are now the rule.

Ordinarily the only garments of the primitive Hopi woman were an undyed cotton robe, which passed under the left arm and was fastened above the right shoulder, the edges overlapping at the right side, and an embroidered belt. Arms and lower legs were bare. On special occasions women wore deerskin moccasins, to which were attached white leggings of the same material, each consisting of half of a large skin, which was wrapped round and round the calf like a thick bandage. The primitive robe is never seen today at East mesa, rather frequently at Middle mesa, and quite commonly at West mesa. Calico gowns, moccasins of the Navaho type (except in ceremonies), and blue, footless, woollen stockings in the Zuñi fashion are the favored costume of today.

In cold weather both sexes threw a white cotton bed-blanket about the shoulders, but men more frequently used rabbit-skin blankets, which are still commonly made by the women.

The ancient style of dressing the hair still persists. Men cut it at the sides on the level of the lobe of the ear, and in front at the level of the eyes; and in the back they double it up and tie it in an elongate bunch. The head-band is worn to keep the hair clear of the eyes. Women part the hair in the middle and wear it in two thick strands about half the natural length, winding about them at the middle long, blue, cotton strings. Unmarried girls have, or used to have, the locks arranged in two large, upstanding whorls at the sides of the head. This fashion, which symbolizes the squash-blossom and indicates nominal virginity, is fast disappearing.

The Hopi have never tattooed.

DWELLINGS — The walls of a Hopi house are constructed of undressed stone fragments bound with mud plaster. The flat roof consists of beams resting on the tops of the walls, pole battens, rod and grass thatching, a layer of gumbo plaster, and a covering of dry earth. The floor is the native rock, if it is sufficiently level, or a gypsum-coated covering of packed earth spread over the rock, or, in the case of upper stories, over the roof of the room below. Most of the houses are more than one story in height, the maximum being four stories, and as each level is more restricted than the one below it, the result is a series of terraces. The upper apartments are reached by outside ladders, and formerly, as a safeguard against attack, ground-floor rooms were accessible only through hatchways in the roof. Small openings in the outer walls admitted light and air. Except in the case of buildings constructed within comparatively

recent years, it is misleading to speak of Hopi houses. The ancient structures are really apartment houses sheltering a larger number of families. From time to time new rooms were added here and there, much as a colony of bees adds the cells necessary for its increasing population, but with far less regularity.

PRIMITIVE FOODS — The Hopi staff of life has always been corn, which is prepared in a great variety of ways. Most important, however, is the varicolored, paper-thin bread called *piki*. *Pikami*, a slightly fermented and baked pudding, is a favorite dish. Beans and squashes were cultivated in primitive times, and with the coming of the Spaniards peaches, muskmelons, watermelons, and chile were added to the Hopi diet. Piñon-nuts, juniper-berries, prickly-pear (Opuntia) and yucca fruit, potherbs, and mescal secured from nomadic tribes, were eaten. Rabbits offered the principal, and usually a fairly abundant, supply of meat. Antelope, deer, and mountain-sheep were hunted, and the smallest rodents, mice, rats, squirrels, and prairie-dogs, were not despised. In the latter part of the eighteenth century sheep began to be of importance to the Hopi, not only for their flesh but for the wool.

ARTS AND INDUSTRIES — Agriculture, weaving, pottery, and basketry were the principal industries. Corn, beans, squashes, and cotton were raised in prehistoric times, and most of the labor was performed by men. Weaving is exclusively a masculine occupation, and the very excellent product includes the ordinary woman's garment, the marriage robe, belts for daily and ceremonial use, and bed-blankets. Until comparatively recent times cotton garments of native weave were eagerly sought in trade by other tribes. Ceremonial garments are beautifully embroidered with wool in green, red, and black on a white cotton background, and the decorative schemes are lines, geometrical figures, and conventionalized representations of deities.

Pottery and basketry are the work of women. Pottery vessels are built up by the process of coiling a rope of plastic clay upon itself, and are fired in a burning mound of sheep-dung. The primitive fuel was lignite. All cooking-vessels, food dishes, and water-jars are pottery. The art is not practised at Middle or West mesa, though the more or less ancient mounds in the immediate vicinity are a mass of potsherds.

Burden-baskets were everywhere made, and shallow trays, with the conventionalized figure of a Kachina in colors, for containing sacred meal, are still made in large numbers at Middle mesa and Oraibi. With the exception of these Middle Mesa plaques, which are made by the process known as coiling, all basketry was twined work.

The primitive implements of war were oak bows backed with sinew, reed-shafted arrows tipped with obsidian or flint, greasewood clubs, convex rawhide shields, skin quivers, and obsidian-pointed spears. The last, however, judging from the Spanish name "lánsa," are of late origin. Curved sticks are used for bringing down rabbits, but the Hopi never learned the secret of the boomerang.

Musical instruments are the five-holed flute of reed or of two pieces of wood cemented and bound together; the drum, a hollowed section of cottonwood covered at both ends with deerskin; and the gourd or deerskin rattle.

In the house, besides pots and baskets, are the sloping sandstone metates, and lava and sandstone mullers; earthenware ladles; mountain-sheep horn spoons; and a bunch of dry grass stems, the stiff end of which serves as a hair-brush, the other as meal-brush and broom.

Cutting implements were the stone ax and black obsidian knives, both with oak handles and yucca-leaf wrapping.

GAMES — In some Hopi games the deciding factor is mental ability, in others luck, in others athletic skill. In the first class is *totólospi*, which is played on the principal of checkers. The principal game of chance is *chómakinta*, which is very like parchesi. Luck is the chief element also in *soyóhūkpi*, the so-called cup-game, which is played only in the winter moon Pá-mūya and is primarily a ceremonial contest between the masked Kachinas and a number of women. A pebble or a grain of corn is concealed under one of four cups, and the object is to uncover it at the third attempt. Most popular of all contests are those involving athletic prowess, and of these long-distance racing is preeminent. Each party, consisting of an indefinite number of runners, throws forward along the course by means of the foot a ball or a bunch of corncobs. These races are either contests between the members of different kivas, or a feature of a ceremony. Shinny is played with a ball of wool covered with deerskin on a course of about a hundred yards.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION — Each village except Sichomovi, which is practically a part of Walpi, has five officials. The office of Chief falls to the head of the Bear clan. The Houses Chief is the principal man of the Horn clan; the Talker, of the Firewood clan; the Crier Chief, of the Rattlesnake; and the Warrior Chief, of the Reed. These five compose the village council, which deals with all questions of public concern. The Chief may veto any proposal. If he approves it, the Warrior Chief may veto it. Thus without the consent of these two, no action may be taken. The Talker usually presents the matter to be discussed, and may endeavor to persuade the Chief. The Crier Chief makes public the decisions of the council and announces ceremonies and other community undertakings. The Houses Chief is the deputy of the Chief, and is charged with the supervision of village affairs as regards the general relations of the people. The Warrior Chief is the peace officer, and formerly had charge of the conduct of war. There has never been any formal political relationship between the Hopi pueblos.

LOCAL ORGANIZATION — The Hopi are divided into twelve clans, which, however, are not all represented at any one village. Each clan possesses totems (*nátula*, relation), or name-objects, which most commonly are either animals, plants, or natural phenomena. A personal name, however, refers not to the clan-totem of the possessor, but to that of the individual who bestows the name, that is, in a majority of cases, the father's totem. Clan legends clearly indicate a feeling that the totem exercises a guardian function over the clansman. The flesh of one's totem is not taboo. Descent is matrilineal.

PUBERTY RITES — Behind a curtain in the house of a paternal aunt a girl in her first menses grinds corn for three days. Meat and salt are forbidden, and the head may be scratched only with a forked stick. On the fourth day the aunt washes the girl's head with yucca suds, gives her a new article of clothing, and sends her home. The girl deposits the head-scratcher at the edge of the mesa and sprinkles meal on it.

Adolescent boys are initiated into one of four fraternities that participate in the new fire ceremony, but there is no such thing as fasting in quest of a spiritual guardian.

MARRIAGE — The Hopi are monogamous. An exchange of food between the two interested families is made as a pledge of marriage, and the subsequent wedding rites extend over four days. On the first night the bride's relatives bring her to the house of her prospective husband, where she remains in seclusion three days, grinding meal, which the bridegroom's female relatives make into piki during the fourth night. The next morning is devoted to the wedding feast, and the final act is the washing of the bride's head by her mother-in-law. The couple remain at the husband's home until his relatives have completed the bride's wedding garments, and thereafter reside with her people. Divorce is accompanied by no formality other than the departure of the husband with his personal effects, or the ejection of them into the street by his wife.

MORTUARY CUSTOMS — The dead are disposed in circular pits just large enough to admit the corpse in a sitting posture with the knees drawn up to the chin. The face is turned eastward, ornaments and bits of ceremonial regalia once worn by the dead person are dropped into the grave, and food and water are placed either in or near the grave. Over the corpse is planted a long plumed prayer-stick, and beside it a stick to serve as a ladder for the soul. Cave-burial was formerly extensively practised. On the following day immediate relatives and others concerned in the burial wash their heads in yucca-root suds. No mutilation, disfigurement, or defiling of the body is practised as a token of sorrow. Mourners, particularly women, wail on several successive days. *Más-ki* ("corpse house") is at the base of a high cliff, and the souls of those who have lived well float down without accident. Evildoers experience many difficulties in the journey to *más-ki*, and those who deliberately brought misfortune on their people are actually destroyed by being hurled down from the brink of the precipice.

WAR — The cult of the war gods was added to the Hopi calendar by the Reed clan, and the head man of that group, who is *ipso facto* chief of the Warrior fraternity and as such personates the elder war god in their ceremony, was appropriately given charge of all things pertaining to war. "Military" duty was compulsory on all adult members of the fraternity; with others it was optional. Scalps were taken, and any one who secured such a trophy necessarily joined the fraternity. The trophies were used in a victory dance, and were then thrown into a crevice below the mesa, where they received a nightly offering of meal from one or another member of the society. Apache, Ute, and Navaho were the tribes with whom the Hopi waged a war of defense and retaliation.

SHAMANS — The Hopi believe that certain persons are able to metamorphose themselves into animals of any species, and in such form inflict sickness and death. Sorcery is in fact the dominant note in their mythology. Unlike many tribes, however, they do not conceive that the shaman who uses his power for healing possesses the ability to cause disease. The healer is called *pósi-taka* ("eye man"), because of his gift of seeing disease, and the sorcerer is *powáka*, or *qíta* ("excrement"). Formerly the shamans composed a fraternity, but the last of them died years ago. Their power was acquired by instruction and a form of initiation in which the initiators pretended to project a crystal into the novice's breast. They offered prayers and pahos to Bear and Badger, and treated disease by singing "mentally" and concentrating their thoughts on the desire to heal. Neither shamans nor herb doctors accepted a fee. The herb doctors still practise, using a large number of remedies.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIES — From various quarters the Hopi have brought with them in their migration from other regions or have borrowed from other Pueblos a mass of religious practices, and the result is a complex presenting many anomalies and obscurities. They recognize a very large number of deities, and of none can it be said that he is supreme. Sometimes it appears that the Sun occupies the premier rank, at others Sótukunaṇi, a sky god; and at Walpi one is told specifically that Másôû, a local genius presiding over crops and fire, is of greatest importance. The explanation may be that each was the principal deity of some one group that entered into the making of the present Hopi people. All these deities are supplicated by implanting plumed prayer-sticks (pahos) and by casting from the fingers a bit of cornmeal while uttering a silent prayer. In general the purpose of such supplication is to obtain health and rain. Some of the deities have localized abodes, marked by shrines, which may contain a figurine or a piece of petrified wood.

The numerous ceremonies are performed at prescribed times, which are determined either by the position of the rising sun with reference to certain landmarks, or by the moon. Each ceremony is conducted by a certain society or societies, male or female, each of which is said originally to have been, though it is not now, recruited from the membership of one certain clan.

MYTHOLOGY — Hopi myths are largely a recital of the circumstances under which various religious practices were instituted among the ancients by supernatural beings, of the contests of sorcerers against upright persons, who invariably win by the aid of the supernaturals, of the activities of the wonder-working war gods. There is a less characteristic cycle of tales in which Coyote plays the familiar rôle of mischievous buffoon.

NAMES FOR INDIAN TRIBES AND PUEBLOS[1]

Acoma	Ákuka-vi (Ákuka place), Ákukamū
Apache	Yúťšĕĕ, Yúťšĕĕmū[2]
Apache, Chiricahua	Tsíshĕ, Tsíshĕmū
Apache, Mescalero	Sûtáťsavû (*sûta*, brown ochre paint), Sûtáťsavûmū
Apache, San Carlos	Sankaíyo, Sankaíyomū[2]
Cochiti	Kútiti, Kútitimū
Comanche	Kománchi, Kománchimū[4]
Havasupai	Kóhnina, Kóhninamū
Hopi	Hópi (well-behaved, docile), Hópitū
Hano	Háno, Hánomū
Hotavila	Hó-tvĕlū (*hóhū*, juniper-wood; *tevêla*, slope), Hótvĕlvitū
Mishongnovi	Mûsáṇĕnû-vi, Mûsáṇĕnûptū
Moenkapi	Mŭnkap-ki (small-stream place), Mŭnkapimū

[1] The name of the pueblo, or the singular form of the tribal name, is followed by the plural form designating the people.

[2] Some Apache tribes are known by specific names, but all may be described by this general term.

[3] Spanish.

[4] The Hopi knew the Comanche only by meeting them during their trading trips to the Rio Grande pueblos, especially Taos.

Oraibi	Oxaí-vi, Oxaívitŭ [1]
Pakavi	Páka-vi (reed place), Pákaptŭ
Shipaulovi	Sûpóla-vi, Sûpólaptŭ [2]
Shongopavi	Soṇó-pa-vi (rush spring place), Soṇópaptŭ [3]
Sichomovi	Si-tsómo-vi (flower mound place), Sitsómoptŭ
Walpi	Wáhl-pi (gap place), Wáhlpitŭ [4]
Isleta	Tsiáwipa, Tsiáwipamŭ
Jemez	Hémisi, Hémisimŭ
Navaho	Tásavŭ, Tásavûmŭ
Paiute	Paiyútsi, Paiyútsimŭ
Pima	Pima, Pímamŭ
Rio Grande Pueblos	Hopák-sinomŭ (east people)
San Felipe	Páyûptŭ (rivers)
Santo Domingo	Tûwii (terrace), Tŭwiimŭ
Ute	Yúta, Yútamŭ
Walapai	Yavák-kohnina (distant Havasupai), Yavák-kohninamŭ
Zuñi	Sío, Síotŭ [5]

PARTIAL LIST OF RUINS IN THE HOPI COUNTRY [6]

Awatobi [Awát-ovi, bow high-place], on Antelope mesa about nine miles southeast of Walpi.

Chukubi [Chûkŭ-vi, double-point place], a mile northeast of Shipaulovi.

Homolobi [Homól-ovi, breast high-place], on the Little Colorado near Winslow.

Kaŏ-taktipŭ (corn burnt), or Kikŏ-taktipŭ (ruin burnt), about twenty-five miles northeast of Walpi. This is the same as Fewkes's Tebugkihu, Fire House.

Kisakobi [Ki-sák-ovi, house ladder high-place], on the terrace at the point of the mesa below Walpi.

Kŏṇŏ-pa-vi (stone-ball spring place),[7] on the point of the mesa at Shongopavi.

Kuchaptuvela [Kôtsap-tevélŭ, ashy slope], on the terrace below and north of Walpi.

Kukuchomo [8] [Kikŏ-tsomo, ruin mound], just above Sikyatki.

Kwaituki [Qaí-tûqi, eagle mountain], on the west side of Oraibi wash about fifteen miles above Oraibi.

Masí-pa (gray water), at the foot of the mesa below modern Shongopavi, where the day school stands.

Mishiptonga [Masí-ptaṇa, gray squash, that is, gourd], near Jeditoh spring.

Mishongnovi [Mûsáṇčnŭ-vi], at the foot of the mesa below modern Mishongnovi.

Mótš-ovi (point high-place), on the cliff at the south of the mouth of Keams cañon.

Pakachomo [Pá-koi-tsomo, water soil mound], about four miles southwest of Walpi. See footnote, page 19.

Payupki [Payŭp-ki, river house], on a point about six miles north of Mishongnovi.

Shipaulovi [Sûpólavi], on the terrace below modern Shipaulovi.

Shitaimuvi [Sitaímûvi], on a low hill at the southeast foot of Middle mesa.

Shongopavi [Soṇó-pa-vi, rush spring place], at the foot of the mesa below modern Shongopavi.

Sikyatki [9] [Sikyát-ki, bitter house], at the east base of the mesa, several miles from Walpi.

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[1] In the Oraibi dialect, Oraívi, with slightly trilled *r*.

[2] This has been translated as "mosquitoes," but not with the approval of Hopi traditionists.

[3] *Sóṇo*, an unidentified small reed.

[4] At Shipaulovi and Shongopavi this is more correctly pronounced Wálpi (*wála*, gap).

[5] From Zuñi *Shíwi*, a Zuñi individual.

[6] The orthography adopted in the *Handbook of American Indians* for such ruins as are mentioned therein is followed by the native pronunciation in brackets.

[7] *Kŏṇŏ*, a ball of calcined micaceous material used in the kicking race.

[8] Fewkes incorrectly translates, "footprints mound."

[9] Fewkes translates "yellow house." Numerous old men, questioned on the word, agreed that it refers to the alkalinity of the water at Sikyatki.

Tukinobi [Tûkí-novi, mountain high place], a hill on East mesa north of the Gap.

Wukoki [Wûkó-ki, large house, or Wûko-kikö, large ruin], on the Little Colorado about forty miles northeast of Flagstaff.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL INFORMANTS

Nûváoyi (snow heaped, referring to the snow heaped up about waterholes on the mesa so as to melt and fill them), born about 1830, a Walpi man of the Rattlesnake clan and the Snake and Qán-wimi fraternities.

Háni, born about 1830, one of the oldest men at Walpi, head of the Tobacco clan and the Tó-wimi fraternity.

Nûváti (snowed), born about 1840, a Walpi man of the Tansy-mustard clan and the Ál-wimi fraternity.

Wikyáhtiwa (something dangling from the hand, that is, a rabbit), born about 1840, a Walpi man of the Rattlesnake clan and the Snake and Qán-wimi fraternities.

Sikyálêʃtiwa (referring to the yellow dawn), born about 1845, a Shipaulovi man, chief of the Snake fraternity.

Yáqa (bending, referring to a bow), born about 1855, a Walpi man of the Badger clan and the Ál-wimi fraternity.

Saqístiwa (blue streak, referring to a line of reeds in a swamp), born about 1850, a Walpi man of the Cloud clan and the Qán-wimi fraternity.

Hónovi (strong, referring to the deer), born about 1855, a Walpi man of the Tobacco clan and the Snake fraternity.

Lomási (pretty flower), born about 1855, a Walpi man of the Badger clan and the Ál-wimi fraternity, only survivor of the fraternity of shamans, in which, however, he was not a full-fledged member.

Wísti (lying outstretched, referring to a snake), born about 1860, a Walpi man of the Tobacco clan and the Ál-wimi fraternity.

Yóywûnû (rain standing), born about 1860, a Walpi man of the Reed clan and the Ál-wimi fraternity, and chief of the Warrior fraternity.

Mákto (rabbit-hunt), born about 1860, a Walpi man of the Horn clan and the Tô-wimi fraternity.

Köyáwaima (gray walking, referring to the gray dawn), born about 1870, a Walpi man of the Rattlesnake clan and the Tó-wimi fraternity, and chief of the Snake fraternity since 1899, when he succeeded his deceased brother.

Tsózoma (bluebird he has), otherwise John Mahkewa, born about 1878, the son of a Shipaulovi woman of the Reed clan and a Walpi man of the Cloud clan. At about fourteen years of age he was initiated into the Wûwûʃim-wimi fraternity at Shongopavi, at which village all Middle Mesa initiates are taken in, although each village holds its own ceremony in the years when there is no initiation. He was educated at Keams Cañon, Grand Junction, and Hampton Institute, and has a good understanding of the native life. Throughout this work he was the interpreter.

SOCIOLOGY

The genealogies here presented were compiled as an aid in recording terms of relationship and are published for reference in that connection, as well as for the sociological data they present.

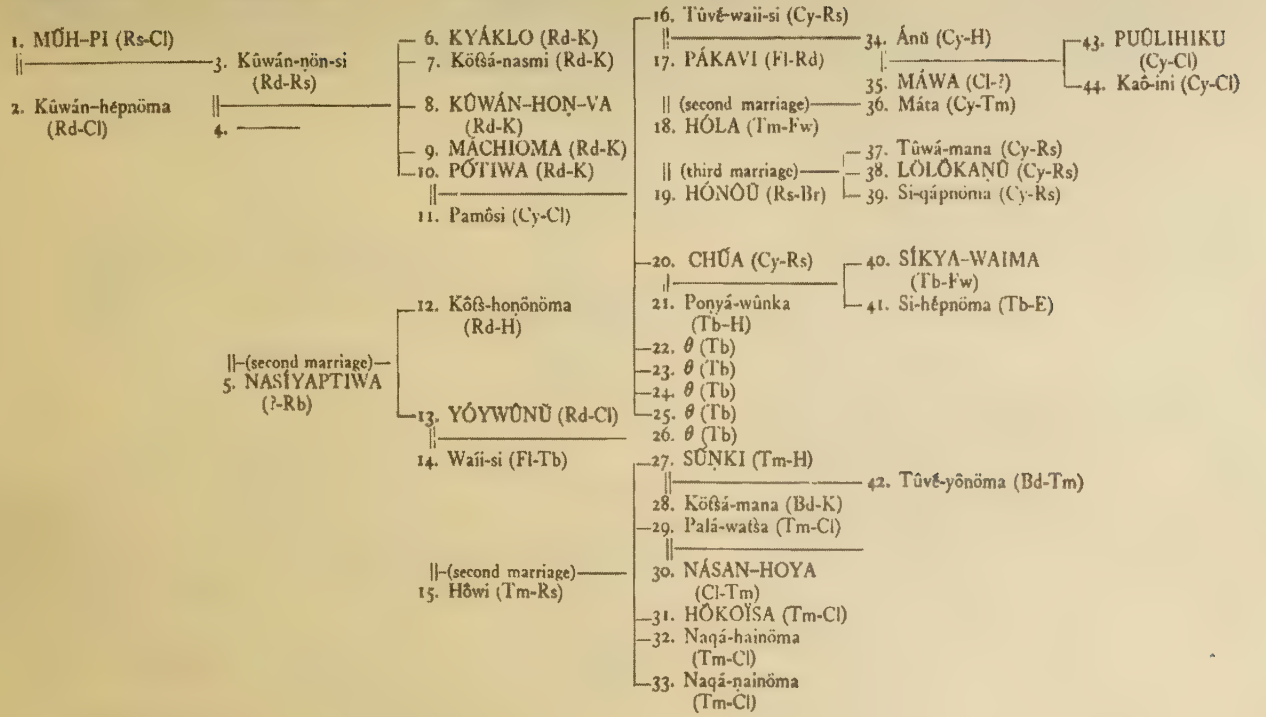
The following abbreviations are used, the first indicating the clan of the individual, the second the clan to which his name refers, that is, the clan of the person who named him.

Bd, Badger	E, Earth	K, Kachina	Rs, Rattlesnake
Br, Bear	Fl, Flute[1]	Rb, Rabbit[1]	Tb, Tobacco
Cl, Cloud	Fw, Firewood	Rd, Reed	Tm, Tansy-mustard
Cy, Coyote[1]	H, Horn		

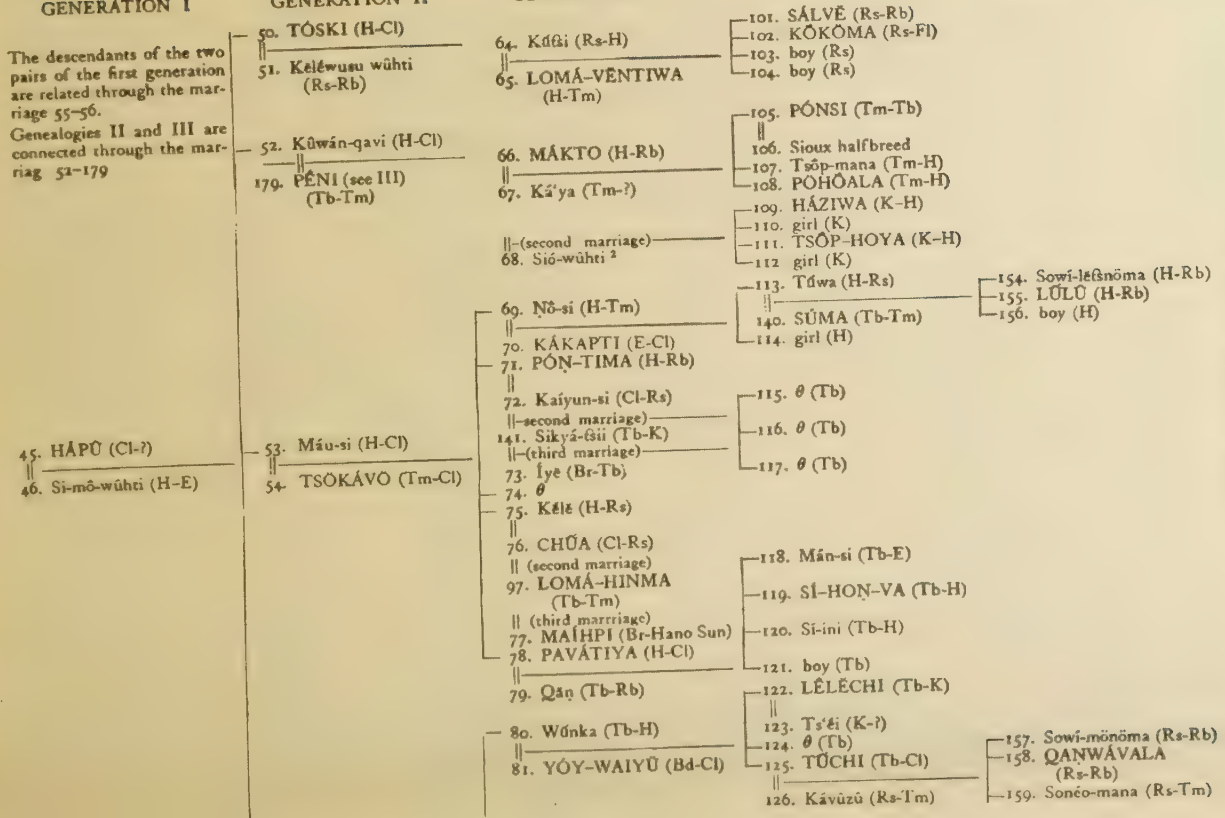
Masculine names are in capitals, feminine names in lower case. The sign θ stands for an infant deceased before it was named, the sign || for marriage.

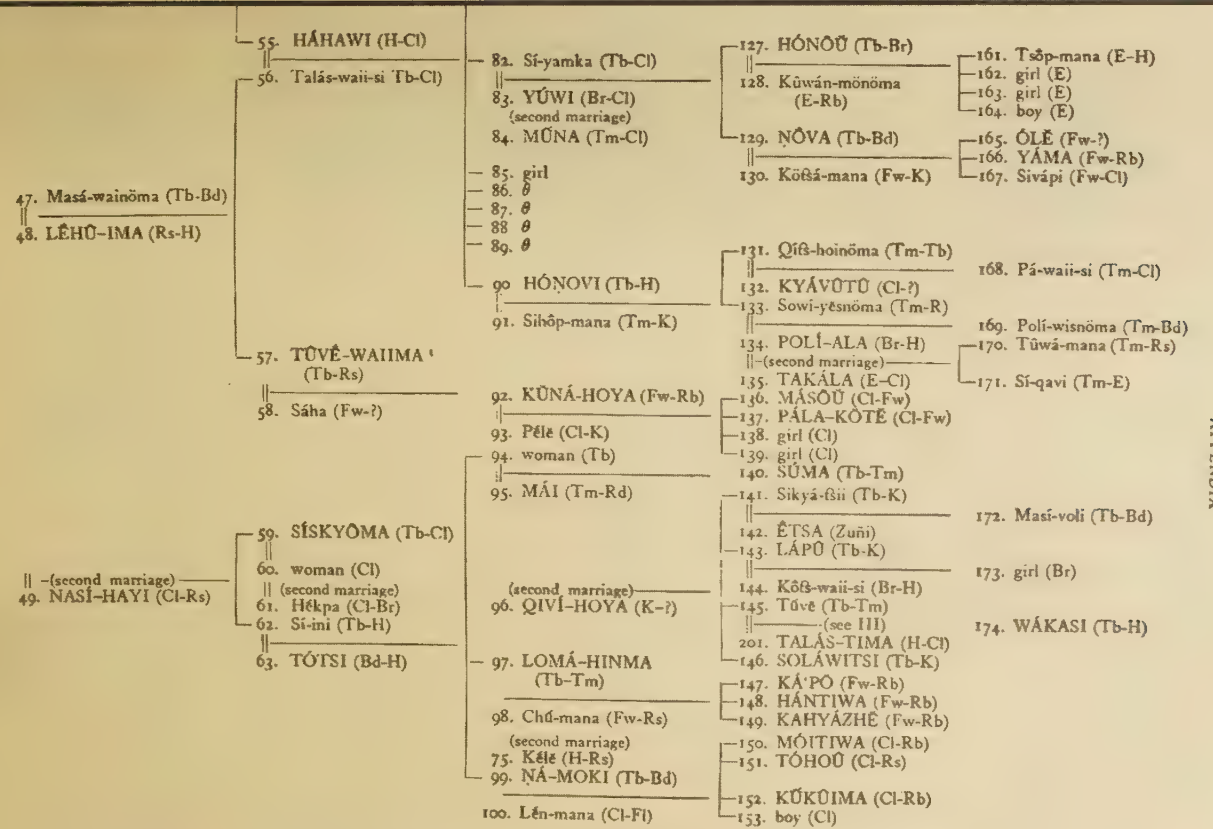
[1] Coyote, Flute, and Rabbit are given in our list of clans as alternative names of Firewood, Horn, and Tobacco, respectively. Some individuals, however, used these names in establishing their clan affiliation, as mentioned on page 61.

GENEALOGY I


GENERATION I
GENERATION II
GENERATION III
GENERATION IV
GENERATION V
GENERATION VI
1. MŬH-PI (Rs-Cl)
2. Kûwán-hépnöma (Rd-Cl)
3. Kûwán-nön-si (Rd-Rs)
4. ———
5. NASÍYAPTIWA (?-Rb)
6. KYÁKLO (Rd-K)
7. Kößá-nasmi (Rd-K)
8. KÛWÁN-HOṆ-VA (Rd-K)
9. MÁCHIOMA (Rd-K)
10. PÓTIWA (Rd-K)
11. Pamôsi (Cy-Cl)
12. Kôß-hoṇönöma (Rd-H)
13. YÓYWÛNŬ (Rd-Cl)
14. Waíi-si (Fl-Tb)
15. Hôwi (Tm-Rs)
16. Tûvê-waii-si (Cy-Rs)
17. PÁKAVI (Fl-Rd)
18. HÓLA (Tm-Fw)
19. HÓNÔŬ (Rs-Br)
20. CHŬA (Cy-Rs)
21. Ponyá-wûnka (Tb-H)
22. θ (Tb)
23. θ (Tb)
24. θ (Tb)
25. θ (Tb)
26. θ (Tb)
27. SŬṆKI (Tm-H)
28. Kößá-mana (Bd-K)
29. Palá-watša (Tm-Cl)
30. NÁSAN-HOYA (Cl-Tm)
31. HŎKOÏSA (Tm-Cl)
32. Naqá-hainöma (Tm-Cl)
33. Naqá-ṇainöma (Tm-Cl)
34. Ánŭ (Cy-H)
35. MÁWA (Cl-?)
36. Máta (Cy-Tm)
37. Tûwá-mana (Cy-Rs)
38. LÖLÔKAṆÛ (Cy-Rs)
39. Si-qápnöma (Cy-Rs)
40. SÍKYA-WAIMA (Tb-Fw)
41. Si-hépnöma (Tb-E)
42. Tûvê-yônöma (Bd-Tm)
43. PUÛLIHIKU (Cy-Cl)
44. Kaô-íni (Cy-Cl)
(second marriage)
(third marriage)

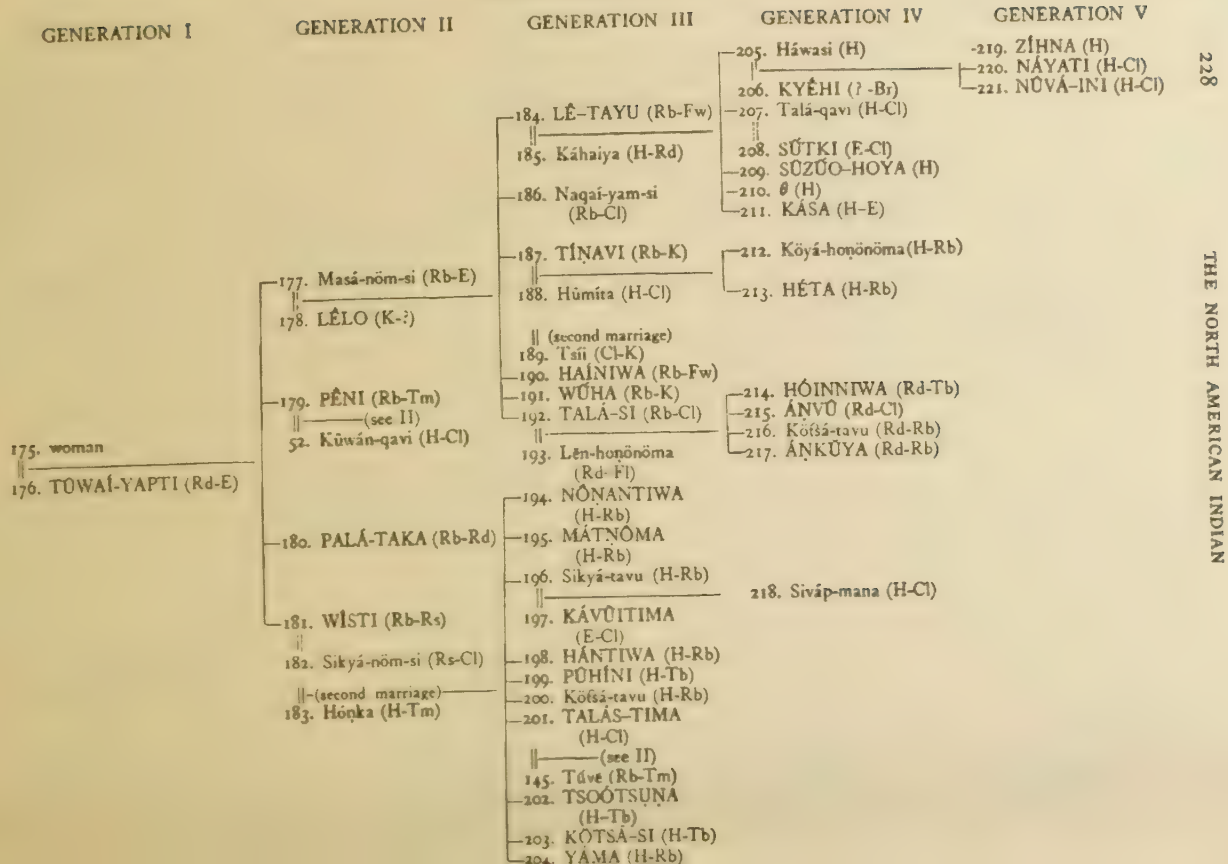
GENEALOGY II





[1] 57 is elder brother of 56, but is necessarily placed below by the exigencies of the scheme.
[2] 68 is a Zuñi woman of the Paroquet clan, which the Hopi regard as identical with their Kachina. Her children therefore are Kachina clansmen.

GENEALOGY III



INTERCLAN MARRIAGES

The 67 marriages recorded in the Genealogies represent 29 clan-pairings. As there are 11 clans (Squash being unrepresented at East mesa), 55 pairings are possible. The 29 recorded are tabulated below.

Tobacco is seen to be intermarried with each of the other ten clans, and Horn with each except Badger, which, however, is represented in only three unions. Tansy-mustard is united with all except Rattlesnake and Kachina, but these two are represented in few marriages, namely 7 and 5 respectively. Thus, even without the direct testimony of the Hopi, it could legitimately be concluded that the rule of exogamy applies only to the clan, never to a group of clans; in other words, that there is no sign of a moiety system among the Hopi.

	Tobacco-Rabbit	Horn-Flute	Tansy-mustard	Cloud	Firewood-Coyote	Rattlesnake	Reed	Bear	Earth	Kachina	Badger	Total
Tobacco-Rabbit		13	3	4	5	3	2	2	1	3	2	38
Horn-Flute			2	3	1	2	1	3	3	1	—	29
Tansy-mustard				2	1	—	1	1	1	—	1	12
Cloud					2	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
Firewood-Coyote						1	1	—	—	—	—	11
Rattlesnake							1	—	—	—	—	7
Reed								—	—	1	—	7
Bear									—	—	—	6
Earth										—	—	5
Kachina											—	5
Badger												3

TRANSLATION OF PERSONAL NAMES

The names mentioned in the Genealogies are here listed alphabetically, with translations and explanations. The numbers refer to their place in the Genealogies, and the clans named are those that bestow the respective names.

The terminations *-tiwa* and *-(ö)noma* are respectively masculine and feminine, and have no other significance. Zuñi masculine names frequently end in *-tiwa*, and Western Keres in *-tiwa* or *-siwa*.

217. Ąnkūya, "coming (to the rabbit-hunt)." Rabbit.
34. Ąnū, "red ant." Horn.
215. Ąnvû, "cornhusk" of the kind used in making *sumí-viki*. Cloud.
20. 76. Chûa, "rattlesnake." Rattlesnake.
98. Chû-mana, "rattlesnake girl." Rattlesnake.
142. Êẑa, a Zuñi name borne by a Zuñi man.
55. Háhawi, "(rainclouds) coming down." Cloud.
190. Haíniwa, "(dancers' fox-skins) hanging down." Firewood.
148. 198. Hántiwa, "going down (to the rabbit-hunt)." Rabbit.
45. Hápû, meaning unknown.
205. Háwasi, a child-name for the vulva (*lôwa*). The father, romping with the child, applied the nickname in a joking way, and it has clung to the individual, now a grown woman, to the exclusion of her formal name. See sûzûo-hoya.
109. Háziwa, "the act of a deer pawing the ground." Horn.
61. Hêkpa, "hemlock." Bear.
213. Héta, a nickname, corruption of *yéta*, the race from the rabbit-hunt to the village. Rabbit.
214. Hóinniwa, "puff of smoke," an onomatope. Tobacco.
31. Hôkoïsa, "going for corn." Cloud.
18. Hóla, for *mahóla*, the seed-filled club borne by personators of Másôû. Firewood.
183. Hóṇka, "standing," an abbreviation of Sikyá-hoṇka, "yellow standing (tansy-mustard flowers)." Tansy-mustard.
19. 127. Hónôû, "bear." Bear.
90. Hóṇovi, "strong (deer)." Horn.
15. Hôwi, "turtle-dove." Rattlesnake.
188. Hûmíta, "shelled corn." Cloud.
73. Íyê, "(tobacco) smoke," in the Tewa language, borne by a Tewa individual. Tobacco.
185. Káhaíya, abbreviation of Qá-haíya, "eagle hanging," referring to the lowering of an eagle-hunter down a cliff. Reed.
149. Kahyázhé, "little rabbit," in the Navaho language. Rabbit.
72. Kaíyun-si, abbreviation of Sikyáyun-si, "yellowness-of (cactus) flower." Rattlesnake.
70. Kákapti, abbreviation of Lomá-qaptiwa, "pretty arranged-on," referring to the clouds. Cloud.
44. Kaô-ini, "corn in (basket)." Cloud.
147. Ká'pô, "hard-tramped rabbit-trail." Rabbit.
211. Kása, abbreviation of Patsíp-qasa, "fur-robe dress," a species of lizard whose ugly, rough skin gives rise to the name. Earth.
197. Kávûitima, abbreviation of Sikyá-vûitima, "yellow opening (of rabbit-brush flowers"). Cloud.
126. Kávûzû, abbreviation of Sikyá-vûzû, "yellow opening (of tansy-mustard flowers"). Tansy-mustard.
67. Ká'ya, a nickname, abbreviation of Kaká-hoya, a colloquial form for "my elder sister little."
75. Kêlé, "sparrow-hawk." Rattlesnake.
51. Kêléwusu-wûhti, "(rabbit-)kidney woman." Rabbit.
102. Kôköma, "having something on the face," referring to the Flute dancers and their gypsum paint. Flute.
28. 130. Kôtsá-mana, "white maid," referring to the White Kachina. Kachina. No. 130 is an Oraibi woman who married Nôva when they left the school at Keams Cañon. They made their home at Walpi, the husband's village, an irregular procedure; but as they built their own home no active objection could be made.
7. Kôtsá-nasmi, "white whorl (of hair)." Kachina.
203. Kôtsá-si, "white (tobacco) flower." Tobacco.
200. 216. Kôtsá-tavu, "white cottontail rabbit." Rabbit.

12. Kôẗs-hoṇönöma, "white (Ålosaka horns) standing." Horn.
144. Kôẗs-waïi-si, "white waving flower (of *lẽhu*, bunchgrass)." Horn.
212. Kóyá-hoṇönöma, "gray standing," referring to rabbit-fur standing upright in the loom when a robe is being woven. Rabbit.
152. Kûkûima, "(rabbit) footprints." Rabbit.
92. Kûná-hoya, "pretty-rabbit small," probably a name applied to a pet rabbit. Rabbit.
64. Kûtsi, "antelope," in the language of an Eastern Keres pueblo. Horn.
2. Kûwán-hẽpnöma, "many-colors (of corn) searching-for." Cloud.
8. Kûwán-hoṇ-va, "many-colors standing placed," referring to the brilliant colors of a row of Kachina dancers. Kachina.
128. Kûwán-mönöma, "many-colors (of rabbit-brush flowers) spread-out." Rabbit.
3. Kûwán-ṇön-si, "many-colors round-about (cactus) flowers." Rattlesnake.
52. Kûwán-qavi, "many-colors (of clouds) on." Cloud.
6. Kyáklo, name of a Zuñi deity represented also in Hopi Kachina dances. Kachina.
132. Kyávûtû, "very heavy," in the Tewa language, borne by a Tewa individual. (Clan?)
206 Kyĕhi, "bear," in the Tewa language, borne by a Tewa individual. Bear.
143. Lápû, abbreviation of Lapûktû, "juniper-bark." Kachina.
48. Lĕhû-ima, "bunchgrass taking-along." Horn.
122. Lĕlĕchi, "(Kachina dancers) in single file." Kachina.
178. Lĕlo, a nickname.
193. Lĕn-hoṇönöma, "flute standing," referring to the standing flute in the Flute ceremony. Flute.
100. Lĕn-mana, "flute maid." Flute.
184. Lĕ-tayu, "? gray-fox." Firewood.
38. Lölôkaṇû, "bullsnake." Rattlesnake.
97. Lomá-hinma, "good going," referring to the flight of a rabbit-stick. Tansy-mustard, because of the oak material; not, as one would expect, Rabbit.
65. Lomá-vĕntiwa, "good painting (with tansy-mustard paint)." Tansy-mustard.
155. Lûlû, a nickname. Rabbit. The parents of this child, having been to school, frequently applied to their baby the adjective "little," having in mind the rabbit. But others, trying to pronounce the word, got no nearer than the form here recorded.
9. Máchioma, "appearing (of Kachina dancers)." Kachina.
95. Mâi, abbreviation of Mákya, "(eagle) hunter." Reed.
77. Maihpi, "constantly moving (like the sun)," in the Tewa language, borne by a Tewa individual. Hano Sun.
66. Mákto, "(rabbit) hunt." Rabbit.
118. Mân-si, "plucked flower." Earth.
177. Masá-nöm-si, "wing covered flower," referring to the down under a young eagle's wing. Earth. Why this should be a name of the Earth clan is not clear.
47. Masá-wainöma, "wing walk," referring to the butterfly. Badger.
172. Masí-voli, "gray butterfly." Badger.
136. Másôû, name of the fire deity. Firewood.
36. Máta, "metate." Tansy-mustard.
195. Mátṇôma, "taking (rabbits) in the arms." Rabbit.
53. Máu-si, "plucking flower." Cloud.
35. Máwa, abbreviation of *mowáyota*, "wet," a nickname applied to a child afflicted with incontinence of urine and persisting to the exclusion of his proper name.
150. Móitiwa, "(morsel of rabbit-kidney) mouth in." Rabbit.
1. Mûh-pi, "rolled-up piki." Cloud.
84. Mûna, "freshet." Cloud.
99. Ṇá-moki, "medicine bundle." Badger.
32. Naqá-hainöma, "(eagle-feather) on-head hanging." Cloud.
186. Naqaí-yam-si, "on-head comes-out flower," referring to the coming out of the Kachina dancers with eagle-feathers tied to the hair. Cloud.
33. Naqá-ṇainöma, "(eagle-feather) on-head waving." Cloud.
30. Nâsan-hoya, "satisfied small." Tansy-mustard.
49. Nasí-hayi, "sloughed-snakeskin hanging-up." Rattlesnake.
5. Nasíyaptiwa, referring to the first young shoots of corn. Rabbit.

220. Náyati, "wrestling," referring to the Kachina dance in which clowns wrestle with the Water Bullsnake. Kachina.
194. Nôṇantiwa, "going out (to the rabbit-hunt)." Rabbit.
69. Ṇô-si, "seeking (tansy-mustard) flower." Tansy-mustard.
129. Ṇôva, "pursuing (a butterfly)." Badger.
221. Ṇûvá-ini, "snow in (baskets when the roofs are being cleared)." Cloud.
165. Ólĕ, a nickname, the Oraibi word for the burrow of a fieldmouse which has been stopped with a corncob.
17. Pákavi, "reed." Reed.
137. Palá-kötĕ, "red [fiery] head." Firewood.
180. Palá-taka, "red (hawk) man." Reed.
29. Palá-waŝa, "red corn." Cloud.
11. Pamôsi, "fog." Cloud.
78. Pavátiya, "tadpole." Cloud.
168. Pá-waii-si, "water waving flower," said to refer to the yellow stains left on the ground by receding water. Cloud.
93. Pĕlĕ, "(hair) whorl," in the Tewa language. Hano Kachina.
179. Pĕni, "painted design." Tansy-mustard.
108. Póhô-ala, "wool horn," referring to deer-horns in the velvet. Horn.
134. Poli-ala, "butterfly horn." Badger.
169. Poli-wisnöma, "butterfly in-a-row." Badger.
105. Pónsi, a foreign word. Tobacco.
71. Póṇ-tima, "round continuous," referring to the circle in a rabbit-drive. Rabbit.
21. Poṇyá-wûnka, "altar standing." Horn.
10. Pótiwa, name of a Zuñi deity (Páutiwa) represented in Hopi Kachina dances. Kachina.
199. Pûhihi, "spreading (of a young tobacco plant)." Tobacco.
43. Puúlihiku, "drink stooping." Cloud.
79. Qāṇ, "jack-rabbit," in the Tewa language, borne by a Tewa individual. Rabbit.
158. Qaṇwávala, "palatable juice," referring to rabbit blood. Rabbit.
131. Qiĉ-hoinöma, "smoke exhale." Tobacco. *Hoi*, an onomatope expressive of blowing out smoke.
96. Qivi-hoya, "boaster little." (Clan?)
58. Sáha, a nickname.
160. Sák-hoṇonoma, "green (tansy-mustard) standing." Tansy-mustard.
101. Sálvĕ, a corrupt Spanish word. Wûha, No. 191, a male relative of this boy by marriage, was sold as a child to the Mexicans during a time of famine about the year 1860. Thirty years later he wandered back to the Hopi country, and now lives at Middle mesa. About the time of his return the child in question was born, and Wûha gave him the name Sálvĕ, which he said was Mexican. The word is perhaps a corruption of *salvaje*, "wild," a meaning which would well apply in this case, as Wûha is a Rabbit man.
41. Si-hĕpnöma, "flower seeking." Earth.
119. Si-hoṇ-va, "flower standing placed," referring to an incident in a Kachina dance, when the Antelope dancers stand about a basket containing a flower. Horn.
91. Sihôp-mana, "cottonwood-maid." Kachina.
62. } Sí-ini, "flower in," referring to the incident mentioned under No. 119. Horn.
120. }
182. Sikyá-nöm-si, "yellow covered flower." Cloud.
196. Sikyá-tavu, "yellow cottontail-rabbit." Rabbit.
141. Sikyá-ŧŧii, "yellow bird." Kachina.
40. Sikyá-waima, "yellow (fox) walking." Firewood.
46. Si-mô-wûhti, "flower dry woman." Earth.
68. Sió-wûhti, "Zuñi woman," a nickname borne by a Zuñi woman.
39. Si-qápnöma, "flower on (cactus)." Rattlesnake.
171. Si-qavi, "flower on (the stalk)." Earth.
59. Siskyôma, "ripening (corn)." Cloud.
167. Sivápi, "rabbit-brush." Cloud.

218. Sivâp-mana, "rabbit-brush maid." Cloud.
82. Sî-yamka, "(rabbit-brush) flower budding." Cloud.
146. Soláwitsi, name of a Kachina identical with Zuñi Shúlawitsi, the Little Fire god. Kachina.
159. Sonéo-mana,[1] "pretty maid," referring to Cháqaina Kaʃsina. Tansy-mustard.
154. Sowí-lēʃnöma, "jack-rabbit in-a-row." Rabbit.
157. Sowí-mönöma, "jack-rabbit drying." Rabbit.
133. Sowí-yēsnöma, "jack-rabbit covert." Rabbit.
140. Súma, "tied," referring to the wrapping of a rabbit-stick. Tansy-mustard. See under Lomá-hinma.
27. Sûnki, "overtake." Horn.
208. Sûtki, "broken (coil of potter's clay)." Cloud.
209. Sûzûo-hoya, "tail small," a name applied in fun by the infant's father in allusion to the male organ. The same man named one of his daughters Háwasi, *q. v.*
135. Takála, "corntassel." Cloud.
207. Talá-qavi, "corntassel on." Cloud.
192. Talá-si, "corntassel flower," that is, the pollen. Cloud.
201. Talás-tima, "corn-pollen gathering." Cloud.
56. Talás-waii-si, "corn-pollen waving flower." Cloud.
187. Tíṇavi, "announcement (of a ceremony)." Kachina.
151. Tóhoū, "cougar." Rattlesnake.
50. Tóski, for Tósa, "squashbug." Cloud.
63. Tótsi, "moccasins." Horn.
123. Ts'ēi, a Tewa name. (Clan?)
189. Tsii, an unidentified small bird found in summer among the sagebrush. Kachina.
54. Tsökávö, "waterhole." Cloud.
202. Tsoótsuṇa, "smoking." Tobacco.
111. Tsôp-hoya, "antelope small." Horn.
107. 161. Tsôp-mana, "antelope maid." Horn.
125. Tûchi, "roasted corn." Cloud.
145. Tûvē, "(tansy-mustard) paint." Tansy-mustard.
57. Tûvē-waiima, "paint walking," referring to the progress of a mottled snake. Rattlesnake.
16. Tûvē-waii-si, "paint waving (cactus) flower." Rattlesnake.
42. Tûvē-yönöma, "paint holding." Tansy-mustard.
113. Tûwa, "earth." Rattlesnake. Observe that names referring to earth may belong to the Rattlesnake clan as well as to the Earth clan.
176. Tûwaí-yapti, "earth come-out." Earth.
37. 170. Tûwá-mana, "earth maid." Rattlesnake.
14. Waii-si, "waving flower." Tobacco.
174. Wákasi, "cow" (Spanish). Horn.
181. Wlsti, "(snake) lying outstretched." Rattlesnake.
191. Wûha, "announcement," a Middle Mesa word meaning the same as Walpi Tíṇavi. Kachina.
80. Wûnka, abbreviation of Tûvē-wûnka, "paint standing," referring to the shining coat of a deer. Horn.
166. 204. Yáma, "come out," a word shouted by hunters when a rabbit takes refuge among the rocks. Rabbit.
81. Yóy-waiyū, "rain escape-from." Cloud.
13. Yóy-wûnū, "rain standing." Cloud.
83. Yúwi, "cornsilk." Cloud.
219. Zíhna, abbreviation of Ziyanta, "spinning," a nickname applied to a boy fond of whipping tops.

[1] *Sonéo* is used exclusively by females. Both sexes use *lólomai*.

INTERCLAN RELATIONS AS SHOWN BY BESTOWAL OF NAMES

Below is a table showing the number of instances in which any given clan (left-hand column) has bestowed personal names on the children of any other given clan.

It will be observed that the Tobacco clan has received names from every other clan and has named individuals of every other except Kachina and Reed; but these are represented in the Genealogies by only 2 and 12 persons respectively. Cloud has received names from all but Earth, Reed, and Badger, and has given names to all except Kachina. Horn has been named by all except Firewood, Badger, and Bear, and has given names to all. Under these circumstances it can hardly be said that there is any tendency toward clan-pairing in the bestowal of names.

Names are by no means always given by clansmen of the child's father. Out of 28 names given by Tobacco people, 26 are given to children of Tobacco men, an inordinately large proportion. In a total of 120 for all clans, only 77 show clan relationship between namer and child's father. To what extent this tendency is the result of blood, rather than clan, relationship, it is impossible to say; but it is likely that the privilege of naming a child belonged originally to its father's blood relations.

Names bestowed by:	upon:												Namer and child's father of:	
	Tobacco-Rabbit	Cloud	Horn-Flute	Kachina	Rattlesnake	Tansy-mustard	Earth	Reed	Firewood-Coyote	Badger	Bear	Total	same clan	different clans
Tobacco-Rabbit		2	17	—	4	3	1	—	5	3	1	36	26	2
Cloud	6		10	—	2	7	4	3	4	1	1	38	8	11
Horn-Flute	7	2		2	4	3	1	2	1	1	2	25	17	6
Kachina	6	2	1		—	1	—	5	1	1	—	17	5	1
Rattlesnake	2	3	2	—		2	—	1	6	—	—	16	5	7
Tansy-mustard	4	1	3	—	3		—	—	1	1	—	13	9	5
Earth	4	—	2	—	—	1		1	—	—	—	8	1	4
Reed	1	—	2	—	—	1	—		—	—	—	4	1	3
Firewood-Coyote	3	2	—	—	—	1	—	—		—	—	6	3	2
Badger	4	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—		—	5	1	2
Bear	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		3	1	—
Total	38	13	37	2	14	20	6	12	18	7	4	171	77	43
Namer and child's father of same clan	17	4	19	2	5	5	—	5	20	—	—		77	
Namer and child's father of different clans	17	1	7	—	2	9	1	1	5	—	—		43	120[1]

[1] The discrepancy between this total and that in the second column preceding is explained by the fact that no record was made of the paternal clan affiliation of persons who appear in the Genealogies by reason of marriage to those whose lineage is there traced.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

The following terms of relationship are used by the Hopi. Reciprocals are arranged in opposite columns, and in all cases the possessive pronoun of the first person singular, *i-*, is incorporated. None of these terms can be used without a possessive. In the absence of specific evidence to the contrary, either in the very nature of the term or in the form of a direct statement, all words are to be understood as being spoken by both males and females. Age with reference to the speaker is not taken into account by the Hopi in such terms as are not so qualified in the English equivalent below. m. s. = male speaking; f. s. = female speaking.

father	î-naa
mother	î-ṇûû
brother, elder	î-vava
sister, elder	î-köka
father's brother	î-naa
father's brother's wife	î-ṇûû
father's elder brother's son	î-vava
father's elder brother's daughter	î-köka
father's sister	î-kyaa
father's sister's husband	î-qaa
father's sister's son	î-naa
father's sister's daughter	î-kyaa
mother's brother	î-taha
mother's brother's wife	i-môwi
mother's sister	î-ṇûû
mother's sister's husband	î-naa
mother's sister's son, elder than speaker	î-vava
mother's sister's daughter, elder than speaker	î-kö-ka
parent's father	î-qaa
parent's mother	î-soo
husband	î-kóṇya
wife's parent	nû i-möönaṇû taka [2]
husband's parent	nû i-möwi taka
wife's elder brother	î-vava
wife's elder sister	î-köka
wife's younger brother	i-töpko
wife's younger sister	i-síwa
husband's brother or sister	nû i-mowi taka
wife's mother's brother or sister	nû i-möönaṇu taka
wife's elder sister's husband	î-vava
husband's brother's wife	i-möönsiṇwa [3]

child	î-tii
brother, younger	i-tôpko
sister, younger, f. s.	i-tôpko
sister, younger, m. s.	i-síwa
brother's child, m. s.	î-tii
husband's brother's child	î-tii
father's younger brother's son	i-tôpko
father's younger brother's daughter, f. s.	i-tôpko
father's younger brother's daughter, m. s.	i-síwa
brother's child, f. s.	i-môyi
wife's brother's child	i-môyi
mother's brother's child, m.s.	î-tii
mother's brother's child, f.s.	i-môyi
sister's child, m.s.	i-tíwaya
husband's sister's child	nû i-môwi taka [1]
sister's child, f. s.	î-tii
wife's sister's child	î-tii
mother's sister's son, younger than speaker	i-tôpko
mother's sister's daughter, younger than speaker, f. s.	i-tôpko
mother's sister's daughter, younger than speaker, m.s.	i-síwa
child's child	i-môyi
wife	i-nôma
daughter's husband	i-möönaṇû
son's wife	i-môwi
younger sister's husband	i-tôpko
elder sister's husband	î-vava
brother's wife	i-môwi
sister's daughter's husband	i-möönaṇû
wife's younger sister's husband	i-tôpko

[1] "Me *i-môwi* who-has."

[2] "Me *i-möönaṇû* who-has." Also severally designated as itá-naa, our father, itá-ṇûû, our mother.

[3] I-môwi, brother's wife; oṇ, by marriage; síṇwa, consort; hence, sister-in-law of my marriage-partner. A self-reciprocal locution.

parent's parent's father í-qaa
parent's parent's mother í-soo

parent's parent's brother í-qaa
parent's parent's sister í-soo

spouse's grandfather í-qaa
spouse's grandmother í-soo

stepfather [1] í-naa
stepmother í-ṇûû

mother's brother's child's child i-môyi

father's sister's son's son i-tôpko
father's sister's son's daughter, f. s. i-tôpko
father's sister's son's daughter, m. s. i-síwa

father's sister's daughter's son í-naa
father's sister's daughter's daughter í-kyaa

child's child's child i-môyi

brother's or sister's child's child i-môyi

grandchild's spouse i-môyi

stepchild í-tii

parent's father's sister's son i-qaa
parent's father's sister's daughter í-kyaa

father's mother's brother's son í-vava
father's mother's brother's daughter í-köka

mother's mother's brother's child, m. s. i-tii
mother's mother's brother's child, f. s. i-môyi

There are three words descriptive of one's clanspeople: i-náhi (plural, i-náhimû), clansman of a male or female and clanswoman of a female; i-tûmsi (i-tûmsimû), clanswoman of a male; í-taka (i-tákayamû), clansman of a male or a female.

Relationship terms are extended to clansmen not related by blood, as follows:

clansman of mother's generation í-taha
clanswoman of mother's generation í-ṇûû

clansman of own generation, elder than speaker í-vava
clanswoman of own generation, elder than speaker í-köka

clansman of grandfather's generation í-qaa
clanswoman of grandfather's generation í-soo

father's clansman í-naa
father's clanswoman í-kyaa

clansperson of child's generation, m.s. i-tíwaya
clansperson of child's generation, f.s. i-tii

clansman of own generation, younger than speaker i-tôpko
clanswoman of own generation, younger than speaker, f. s. i-tôpko
clanswoman of own generation, younger than speaker, m. s. i-síwa

clansperson of grandchild's generation i-môyi

clansman's child, m. s. í-tii
clansman's child, f. s. i-môyi

SUMMARY OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS

The seventeen separate terms, with their primary significance, are listed below.

Parent-child Group

í-naa	father, father's brother
í-ṇûû	mother, mother's sister
í-tii	child

Grandparent-grandchild Group

í-qaa	grandfather
í-soo	grandmother
i-môyi	grandchild (primarily, woman's brother's child)

[1] Persons related on only one side are designated by the same terms as if they were descended from the same father and mother. Illegitimate children are regarded as the children of both their natural and their foster father. Ordinarily they address both as í-naa, but more correctly the natural father is i-ná-chami (my father taken-along), and he in turn calls them i-ti-chami.

Brother-sister Group

í-vava	elder brother
i-tôpko	younger brother, woman's younger sister
í-kóka	elder sister
i-síwa	man's younger sister

Uncle-nephew Group

í-taha	mother's brother
i-tíwaya	man's sister's child
í-kyaa	father's sister
i-môyi	woman's brother's child (also, grandchild)

Husband-wife Group

i-kónya	husband
i-nóma	wife
i-môwi	brother's wife
i-môónaṇû	daughter's husband

SECONDARY APPLICATIONS OF THE TERMS

The secondary applications of these terms are set forth in the table below. For convenience in cross-reference the items are numbered, figures in parentheses indicating the reciprocal item. m. s. = male speaking; f. s. = female speaking.

Í-NAA, FATHER RECIPROCAL, Í-TII, CHILD	Í-NÛÛ, MOTHER RECIPROCAL, Í-TII, CHILD	Í-TII, CHILD RECIPROCALS, Í-NAA, I-NÛÛ
1. father (11)	7. mother (11)	11. child (1, 7)
2. stepfather (12)	8. stepmother (12)	12. stepchild (2, 8)
3. father's brother (13)	9. mother's sister (16)	13. brother's child, m. s. (3)
4. father's sister's son (14)	10. father's brother's wife (15)	14. mother's brother's child, m.s. (4)
5. mother's sister's husband (17)		15. husband's brother's child (10)
6. father's sister's daughter's son (18)		16. sister's child, f. s. (9)
		17. wife's sister's child (5)
		18. mother's mother's brother's child, m. s. (6)

Í-QAA, GRANDFATHER RECIPROCAL, I-MÖYI, GRANDCHILD	Í-SOO, GRANDMOTHER RECIPROCAL, I-MÖYI, GRANDCHILD
19. grandfather (any generation) (64)	24. grandmother (any generation) (64)
20. grandparent's brother (65)	25. grandparent's sister (65)
21. spouse's grandfather (66)	26. spouse's grandmother (66)
22. father's sister's husband (62)	
23. parent's father's sister's son (67)	

Í-VAVA, ELDER BROTHER RECIPROCALS, I-TÖPKO, YOUNGER BROTHER, WOMAN'S YOUNGER SISTER, I-SÍWA, YOUNGER SISTER	I-TÖPKO, YOUNGER BROTHER, WOMAN'S YOUNGER SISTER RECIPROCALS, Í-VAVA, ELDER BROTHER, Í-KÖKA, ELDER SISTER
27. elder brother (34, 50)	34. younger brother (27, 45)
28. father's elder brother's son (36, 51)	35. younger sister, f. s. (45)
29. mother's sister's son, elder than speaker (38, 52)	36. father's younger brother's son (28, 46)
30. wife's elder brother (41)	37. father's younger brother's daughter, f. s. (46)
31. elder sister's husband (40, 53)	38. mother's sister's son, younger than speaker (29, 47)
32. wife's elder sister's husband (42)	39. mother's sister's daughter, younger than speaker, f. s. (47)

33. father's mother's brother's son (43, 54)

40. wife's younger brother (31)
41. younger sister's husband (30, 48)
42. wife's younger sister's husband (32)
43. father's sister's son's son (33, 49)
44. father's sister's son's daughter, f. s. (49)

Í-KÖKA, ELDER SISTER
RECIPROCAL, I-TÖPKA, YOUNGER BROTHER, WOMAN'S YOUNGER SISTER

I-SÍWA, MAN'S YOUNGER SISTER
RECIPROCAL, Í-VAVA, ELDER BROTHER

45. elder sister (34, 35)
46. father's elder brother's daughter (36, 37)
47. mother's sister's daughter, elder than speaker (38, 39)
48. wife's elder sister (41)
49. father's mother's brother's daughter (43, 44)

50. younger sister, m. s. (27)
51. father's younger brother's daughter, m. s. (28)
52. mother's sister's daughter, younger than speaker, m. s. (29)
53. wife's younger sister (31)
54. father's sister's son's daughter, m. s. (33)

55. Í-TAHA, MOTHER'S BROTHER
RECIPROCAL, I-TÍWAYA, MAN'S SISTER'S CHILD (56)

56. I-TÍWAYA, MAN'S SISTER'S CHILD
RECIPROCAL, Í-TAHA, MOTHER'S BROTHER (55)

Í-KYAA, FATHER'S SISTER
RECIPROCAL, I-MÖYI, WOMAN'S BROTHER'S CHILD

I-MÖYI, WOMAN'S BROTHER'S CHILD, GRANDCHILD
RECIPROCALS, Í-KYAA, FATHER'S SISTER, Í-QAA, GRANDFATHER, Í-SOO, GRANDMOTHER

57. father's sister (61)
58. father's sister's daughter (63)
59. father's sister's daughter's daughter (68)
60. parent's father's sister's daughter (67)

61. brother's child, f. s. (57)
62. wife's brother's child (22)
63. mother's brother's child, f. s. (58)
64. grandchild (any generation) (19)
65. brother's or sister's grandchild (20, 25)
66. grandchild's spouse (21, 26)
67. mother's brother's grandchild (23, 60)
68. mother's mother's brother's child, f.s. (59)

69. I-KÓṆYA, HUSBAND
RECIPROCAL, I-NÖMA, WIFE (70)

70. I-NÖMA, WIFE
RECIPROCAL, I-KÓṆYA, HUSBAND (69)

I-MÖWI, BROTHER'S WIFE [1]

74. I-MÖÖNAṆÛ, DAUGHTER'S HUSBAND [1]

71. brother's wife
72. mother's brother's wife
73. son's wife

Some of the more obvious features of this system may be mentioned.

Disregarding the terms for husband, wife, brother's wife, and daughter's husband, all Hopi terms of relationship are applied impartially to individuals in either the direct or the collateral line, and not only to blood relations but to persons related to the speaker only by marriage.

The sex of the speaker is denoted in only two cases: i-síwa, man's younger sister, and i-tíwaya, man's sister's child.

On the other hand the sex of the person named is shown in all cases except four: í-tii, child; i-tôpko, younger brother, woman's younger sister; i-tíwaya, man's sister's child; and i-môyi, woman's brother's child, grandchild.

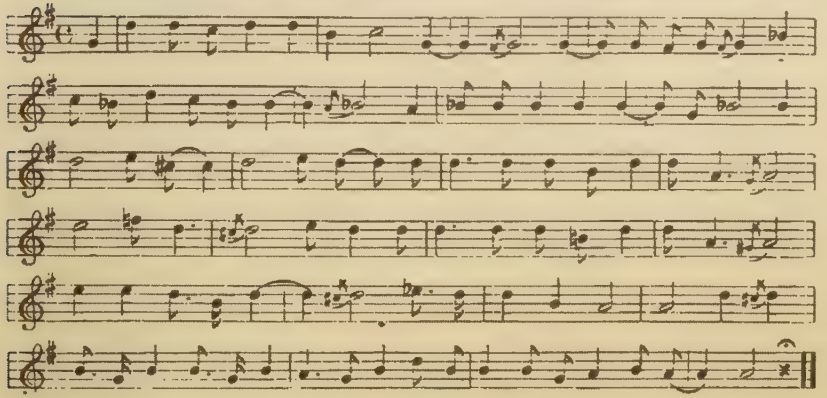
[1] The reciprocals of the terms in this category are expressed by locutions. Husband's brother or sister, husband's sister's child, husband's parent, nû i-môwi taka (me *i-mŏwi* who-has); wife's parents, nû i-môönaṇû taka, or itá-naa (our father) and itá-ṇûû (our mother). Another locution is applied to husband's brother's wife, i-möösiṇwa (sister-in-law of my marriage-partner).

There is no instance of verbal reciprocity in the Hopi system; that is, two individuals never designate each other by the same term, as we do in the case of cousin.

Complete logical reciprocity occurs only with i-taha, mother's brother, and i-tíwaya, man's sister's child; that is, all persons who call a man i-taha, and no others, are by him addressed as i-tíwaya, and *vice versa*. Í-kóka, elder sister, calls all those who so address her i-tôpko, younger brother, woman's younger sister; the reciprocal of i-tôpko, however, is not only í-kóka but í-vava, elder brother. The pair í-kóka – i-tôpko therefore is incompletely reciprocal. Similarly, í-kyaa, father's sister, invariably responds with i-môyi, woman's brother's child; but í-qaa, grandfather, and í-soo, grandmother, employ the same term i-môyi in addressing those who call them grandparent.

SONGS

THE MAID WHO PREFERRED DEATH TO AN UNDESIRED MARRIAGE



Haía ahô. . . ! Áyamo! Haía ahô. . . ! Áyamo!
yonder yonder
Ki-tûwûni-vɛɛ́ |:sónwai[1] *í-nûṇûm túla pô-ta-viwa.*
house yonder at good me for sunlight road laid has-been
Súan-kaſsi ûnáṇwa sûan-vasí-wati, kóô.[2]
right life heart right thing done
Yâ-pɛ́oï tókila-tûwa-ta hóma-tavɛ́la takála kâö tíyotû.
toward night sun his ceremonial- tassel corn boys
here meal made
Haía haía haía haía haía hayá!||
Ókiwa nâwis-nû hakâmi lavaí-mûyoni. Áhaya âhaiya á. . . !
poor about me every- talk will-be
where
Súan-kaſsi ûnáṇwa sûan-vasí-wati ki-tûwûni-vɛɛ́.
right life heart right thing done house yonder at

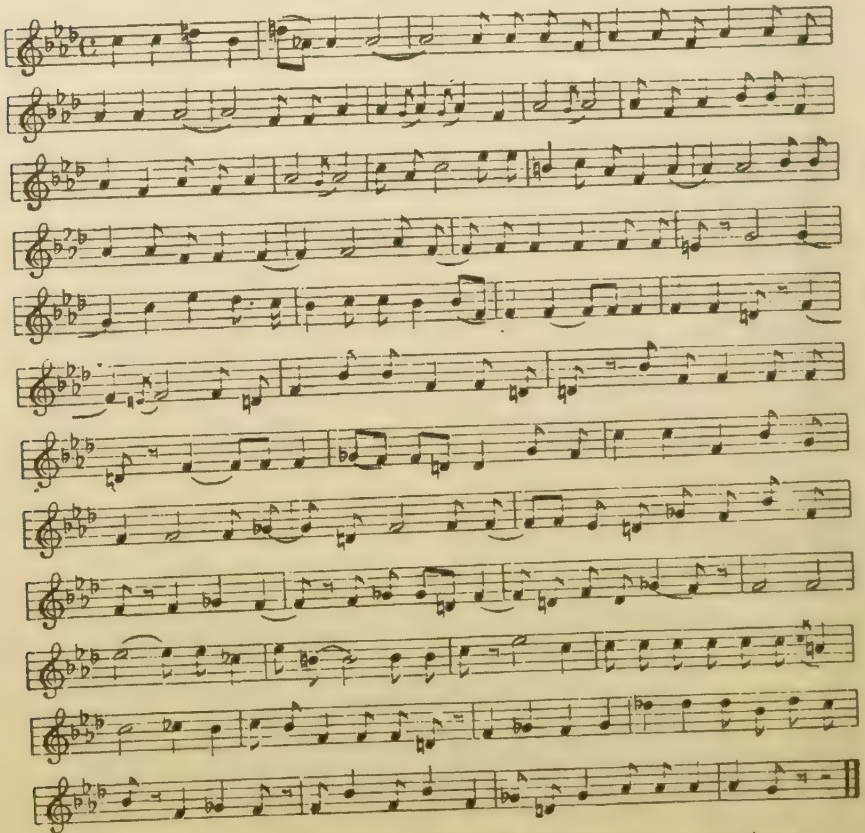
[1] *Sónwai*, a word used only by females.

[2] The interpretation of this sentence is obscure. It should be borne in mind that the text of a Hopi song is never the complete expression of a thought as it would be expressed in conversation. *Kóô* is a word constantly recurring in songs at the end of a phrase, and seems to be a mere expression of finality, or a vocable bridging the break between two musical phrases.

Hápimɨ hapí! Hápimɨ hapí! [1] *Saqá-vaho-móṇwi í-naa!* (Repeat ||-||)
blue paho chief my father

"Yonder, yonder, to that distant house (of death) a good road has been prepared for me. . . . Hither the Moon has strewn his sacred meal, Corntassel Boys. Poor me, everywhere there will be talk about me. Blue-paho Chief, my father!"

THE FLOOD AT PALATKWABI [2]



Halá-nū-ka tákwati í-ṇûû, í-nayû [3] *lavaí-vōyata anáwi taíimakyaṇo.*
as- me ? in-place- my my talk way go- seeing-it
for of mother father through
Pû ɨ́n ûnáṇwa táławin-toni.
now perhaps heart awaken will

[1] *Hápimɨ*, the vocable that introduces a second stanza.
[2] See Migrations of the Cloud Clan, page 79. The usual vocables occur in this song, but are here omitted.
[3] *Í-nayû*, for *í-naa*.

Ka-hák	*tûwóti*	*nawóti*	*Palátqavi*	*pá-kûzûzû*	*mánikatû.*
not one	knowledge	knows	Palatkwabi	water over-flow	impend

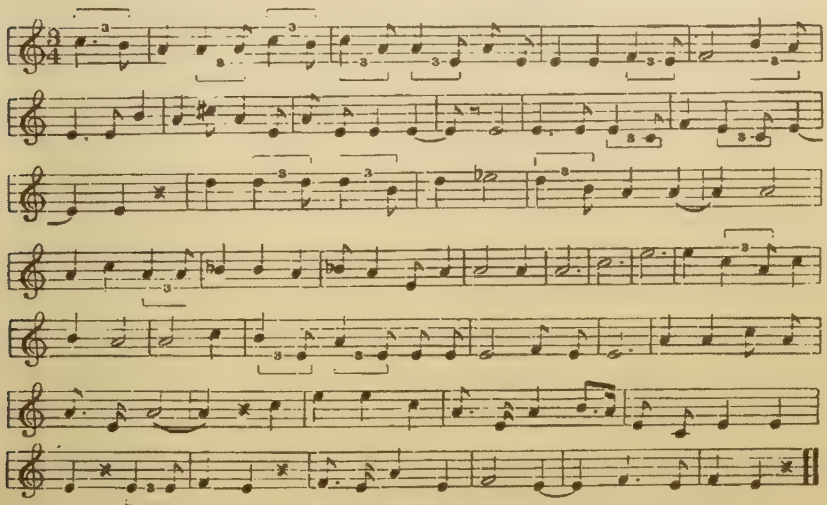
Tûálaŋ-saa	*tûwóti*	*nawóti*	*návokyawinma, köö.*
sorcery only	knowledge	knows	have-enough

Imúyû	*köyá*	*ómôû*	*tí-wûŋwi*	*mátû*	*nánatuilavɛ*	*ka-nawóti*	*yésɛ.*
those	gray	cloud	child growing	they	clansmen	not know	living

Mána-sita	*pûwlaw-si*	*kólô-sivaa*	*si-ßona*	*nûmita*	*hûmita-sita*	*tâŋai*	*tíyotû.*[1]
maid flower	primrose flower	place flower	flower suck		corn flower	yellow-jacket	boys

"I am going through life in the way of my parents, seeing it as they did. Now perhaps my heart will awaken. None had knowledge of the flood that was impending at Palatkwabi. The sorcerers only had sufficient knowledge of it. The growing children, though clansmen of the gray clouds, knew not of it. Yellow-jacket Boys sucking flowers, the flower maids, the primrose flowers, the corn flowers, in the flower place."[1]

SONG OF THE FLUTE BOY AND THE FLUTE MAIDS



Nánawinima ayá,		*köö,*	*Tótoikya,*	*köö,*	*nána-ûßi- tûvilawû.*[2]
let-us-go	yonder		Tótoikya		let-us rings toss

Lɛnáŋvi	*siwámatû*	*hámi*	*tálawiyu,*	*köö.*
Lɛnáŋvi	younger sisters	corn	fine fields	

[1] This last sentence is highly figurative language, meaning that the youths of Palatkwabi spent their nights (the primrose is a night-blooming flower) in kissing and caressing the girls in secret places. These lapses of morality were the supposed cause of the legendary flood.

[2] Tótoikya, the place where the Tó-wimi fraternity is supposed to have originated. *Ûßi*, literally shut, locked, is the position of a ring, tossed from a stick in certain women's ceremonies, resting on the stick as if "locked" there.

Pástoikya	*nâmakilô*	*tûhûilôa*	*ôki.*	
Pástoikya	have-for-godfather	give	already-come	
Tûwa	*nasáṇa,*	*kôô,*	*tímuyû*	*tûwati.*
earth	centre		children	in-turn
Hápimĕ. . . !	*Náto-vikya!*	*Tĕvĕṇĕ*	*óvĕĕ*	*ómô-kí-vĕĕ,*	*hĕ!*
	wait something-expected	west-in	above	cloud house in	behold
Kâô	*móqatû*	*pam*	*yaṇ*	*inámûtû*	*kûkûwani*	*másа*	*pûyáyata.*
corn	double-ear	that	around here	for-us	varicolored	wing	flapping

"Let us go from yonder Tótoikya, tossing our rings. At Lĕnáṇvi are our younger sisters with fine fields of corn. From Pástoikya, having chosen their ceremonial fathers, they have already come. From the earth-centre their children in turn have come. Wait! Something more is coming. Up in the west in the cloud-house, see! Double-eared corn, varicolored, is waving its leaves all about us." [1]

[1] The song refers to the coming of various groups of people into the Hopi country.

VOCABULARY

VOCABULARY[1]

Hopi *v* is bilabial, like Spanish *b-v*. *p* and *t* are always unaspirated, closely approaching *b* and *d*. *p* in composition usually becomes *v*, as in *saqá-vaho* for *saqá-paho* (blue prayer-stick), and *ís-va* for *ísòa-pa* (coyote spring). The change is not invariably made, however, as we have *tawá-pa*, not *tawá-va* (sun spring). Conversely, *v* sometimes becomes *p*, as in *píp-wũnwa* for *píva-wũnwa* (tobacco clansman), and *tùp-wũnwa* for *tùvu-wũnwa* (rabbit clansman). The sound here rendered *ch* is frequently heard as *ß*. Elision in composition is very common. Substantive plurals are formed by the suffix *-tũ*, or *-mũ*, as *mánatũ*, girls, *sínomũ*, people; by initial reduplication, as tũqi, mountain, tũtũqi, mountains; but more commonly by a combination of suffix and reduplication, as kalẽ-taka, brave man, warrior, kákalẽ-taktũ, warriors. Attributives usually, but not always, precede the substantive.

ANATOMICAL TERMS

ankle-joint	sĩh-ko-yi	head	kõ-tẽ
arm	má-a-ta	heart	ũ-náṇ-wa
bone	õ-ka	knee	tá-mõ
chest	ta-wíß-ka	leg	hó-kya
chin	õ-yi	lips	paṇ-íh-pû
ear	ná-kũ-vẽ	lungs	ha-laí-na
elbow	ßõ-vi	mouth	mú-a
eye	pó-si	neck	qã-pi
face	taí-wa	nose	yá-ka
finger	ma-lá-ßi	toe	kũk-wû-si
fingernail	só-ki	toenail	kũk-so-ki
foot	kũh-kũ	tongue	lẽṇ-i
hair	hõ-mi	tooth	tá-ma
hand	mák-tö		

ANIMALS[2]

antelope *	ßõ-vi-o-ũ	butterfly	pó-li
badger *	ho-nã-ni	buzzard	wi-só-ku
bat	sã-o-ya	chicken *	ko-á-ku[5]
bear *	hõ-nõ-ũ	chicken-hawk	kí-sa
bear, black *	kõ-map-hó-nõ-ũ (black bear)	condor	qá-tu-ku-a
bear, brown *	pẽ-túshó-nõ-ũ (brown bear)	coyote	í-sũ-ũ
beaver *	pa-hó-na[3]	crane, sandhill	a-tó-ko
bullsnake	lõ-lõ-kaṇ-ú	crow	aṇ-wí-si
burro *	mó-zo[4]	deer *	so-wí-iṇ-wa[6]

[1] The vocabulary was recorded at Walpi. Pronunciation of many words differs slightly, rarely seriously, at other villages.

[2] Names of animals used for food are indicated by stars.

[3] Probably "water bear."

[4] Adaptation of the Spanish word.

[5] An onomatope. Chickens, because of their unclean habits in feeding, were not eaten until very recently.

[6] Cf. *sówi*, jack-rabbit. Certain tribes in northwestern California, where the jack-rabbit is a newcomer within the last generation or two, call this animal "sand-bar deer."

dog *	púh-ku [1]	paroquet	kyá-zo
duck (generic) *	pá-wi-kya [2]	porcupine *	mŭn-yô-ŭ
eagle	qá-hû	prairie-dog *	tŭ-kya
elk *	ŝai-i-zi-sa	rabbit, cottontail *	tâ-vu
fish	pá-ki-o-û [2]	rabbit, jack- *	só-wi
fox, gray	tâ-yu	rattlesnake	chŭ-a
fox, yellow	si-kyá-ta-yu (yellow)	rattlesnake, side-winder	tá-ho
goat, female *	ka-pí-za [3] (gray-fox)	roadrunner	hós-po-a
goat, male *	ßi-vá-to [3]	sheep *	ka-nĕ-lo [3]
horse *	ka-vá-yo [3]	sparrow-hawk	kĕ-lĕ
magpie	pó-siw '-û [4]	spider	kó-kyaŋ-ŭ
mockingbird	yŏ pa	squirrel, rock *	la-kă-na
mountain-lion *	tó-ho-û	turkey	ko-yúŋ-u [5]
mountain-sheep *	páŋ-wŭ	wildcat *	to-kú-tŝi
owl	móŋ-wŭ	wolf	qĕw '-ŭ

CARDINAL POINTS [6]

The ceremonial order of referring to the world regions is: north, west, south, east, zenith, nadir; and the associated colors are respectively yellow for north, blue for west, red for south, white for east, black for the zenith, and all-color for the nadir. The association of black with the zenith and all-color with the nadir is just the opposite of the practice in some other pueblos, such as Zuñi. The Hopi conception is based on the fact that seeds of various colors, especially corn, are derived from the earth.

eastward	hó-po-ka	southward	tá-to-ka
nadir	át-kya-a	westward	tĕ-vĕŋ-ĕ [7]
northward	qi-ní-wi'-ka	zenith	ó-mi-i (above)

COLORS [8]

all-color	ná-na'-löŋ-ŭ (different kinds) [9]	brown-red	pĕ-tú-si
attributive	kŭ-wán	gray	má-si
black	kôm-vi	green	mo-kíŋ-pû [11]
blue	săs-qaŋ-pû [10]	attributive	mo-kí-(vi)
attributive	sa-qá-(vi)	purple	ku-mú-va-laŋ-pû [12]

[1] The dog was eaten only in time of famine.

[2] The word evidently contains the root *pa*, water.

[3] Adaptation of the Spanish word.

[4] Cf. *pósi*, eye. The remainder of the word is unexplained.

[5] Turkeys were rarely obtained by the Hopi.

[6] Hopi orientation corresponds only approximately with ours, their cardinal points being marked by the solstitial rising and setting points of the sun. At the summer solstice the sun rises in the east and sets in the north; at the winter solstice it rises in the south and sets in the west. Their cardinal points therefore are not mutually equidistant on the horizon, and roughly agree with our semi-cardinal points.

[7] In songs and in composition this word frequently occurs as *távaŋĕ*, which probably was its original form (*táwa*, sun). The change of *a* to *ĕ* is probably in sympathy with the final locative *ĕ*.

[8] When the attributive form is not given, it is to be understood that the same form is used in the predicative and, with proper elisions, the attributive position.

[9] The word may refer also to other qualities than color.

[10] The term for blue includes the dark shades of green. It is applied to all shades of green vegetation, and in this connection is used also much as we employ the word green in the sense of fresh or immature.

[11] Emerald-green. Never applied to vegetation.

[12] *Kúmu*, a plant; *valaŋpû* for *pálaŋpû*, red.

purple	
attributive	ku-mú=va-la-(vi)
red	pá-laṇ-pû
attributive	pa-lá-(vi)
white	kô-ßa
yellow	sí-kyaṇ-pû
attributive	si-kyá-(vi)

PRIMITIVE FOODS [1]

beans	mu-zí-wu-si [2]
bread, wafer	pí-ki
corn, ear, dry	ká-ö; ta-wák-ßi [3]
corn, ear, green	sá-mi
corn, growing	hû-mí=û-yi (corn plant)
corn, parched	kû-tû-ki
corn, shelled	hû-mi-ta
cornmeal tamale	
in cornhusk	su-m=íví-ki (tied-up piki); táṇ-û=vi-ki (? piki); nák=vi-ki (hot-sand piki)
in cornleaves	chû-kû=vi-ki (double-point piki)
cornmeal, coarse	ha-qûs-qi
cornmeal, fine	ṇûm-ni
cornmeal, medium	te-lá-kû-ni
cornmeal, sweet	tó-si
cornmeal balls	pö-vôñl=pi-ki (round piki); mû-mûs=pi-ki (oblong piki)
cornmeal gruel	wû-tá-ka
cornmeal mush	hû-zû-sû-ki
cornmeal pudding	pí-ka-mi
juniper-berries	lé-pó-si [4]
mescal	qá-ni [5]
muskmelon	me-ló-ne [6]
peach	si-pá-la
piñon-nuts	tû-va
prickly-pear fruit	yóṇ-ya
salt	ôṇ-a
squash	pá-ta-ṇa
squash-seeds	pa-tá-ṇa=si-vu-si
watermelon	ka-wá-yu
yucca fruit	sá-hû [7]

HANDICRAFT

arrow	hó-hû [8]
arrow-point	si-váß-kû
arrow-shaft	hóṇ-a-vi
arrow-shaft, reed	pá-kav=hoṇ-a-vi
ax	pi-kyai-iṇ-wa
basket, burden	ho-á-pû
basket, piki tray	pik=in-pí
basket, meal tray	te-ßaí-a
basket, plaque	pó-ta; yûṇ-yá-pû [9]
batten, weaving	sûñ-qa
belt, woman's	qé-wë
blanket, woven	pi-sá-la [10]
bow	ó-ta [11]
broom	wû-si
brush, hair	wû-si
cradle-board	ṇû-ta
dress	mô-ßa-pû
drum	pû-sûk-pi
flute	lé-na
hoe	yûk-ta-ka
house	kí-hû
knife	pú-yu

[1] See also under the head of Animals.
[2] Singular, *múzi*.
[3] *Káö*, the dried ear of field corn; *tawákßi*, the dried ear of sweet corn.
[4] Cf. *pósi*, eye.
[5] Mescal was secured already prepared from the Apache and the Havasupai.
[6] Spanish.
[7] Eaten fresh, and not preserved as by the Zuñi.
[8] Not *hóhû*, which means juniper-wood.
[9] *Póta*, the coiled plaques made at Middle mesa; *yûṇyá-pû*, the twined plaques of Oraibi.
[10] Spanish, *frazada*.
[11] Contraction of *áwata*.

leggings	ho-kyáṇ-ap-na; o-vá=to-ßi [1]	quiver	hó-tna (arrow-?)
loin-cloth	pít-ka-na	rabbit-stick	pû-ûß-ko-hû
loom, belt	qe-wû=ṇû-ta (belt cradle)	rattle, gourd	á-ya
metate	má-ta [2]	robe, ceremonial	a-tô-ö
moccasins	tó-ßi	robe, child's	ßi-zo
muller	ma-tá-ki	robe, marriage	ó-va; qáß-kya-vû
pottery bowl	ßa-káp-ta	robe, rabbit-skin	ta-vû-pû [4]
pottery cooking-vessel	sí-vû	sash, ceremonial	mö-ßáp=ṇwû=qe-wë
pottery ladle	á-kû	sash, marriage	wû-kó=qe-wë (large belt)
pottery water-jar	ßö-ká-o-ko-zu; kûi=si-vû kûi=pi [3]	shield	tû-wo-ta
		spear	lán-sa [5]
		spoon	ál=a-kû (horn ladle)
		top	zi-yán-pi (spinning)
		war-club	mû-sí-ko

NATURAL PHENOMENA

ashes	kôß-vi
charcoal	tö-vûm-si
cloud	ó-mô-û
cloud, cirrus	wi-sí=o-mô-û (streak cloud)
cloud, cumulus	kö-yá=o-mô-û (?-cloud)
cloud, nimbus	he-yá.pô=o-mô-û (?-cloud)
darkness	ka=tá-la (not light)
day (light)	tá-la
day (period)	të-vë-pu [6]
earth	tû-wa; tû-wa=ka-ßi [7]
fire	kô-hi
ice	pa=tû-siṇ-wa (water-?)
lake	pa=tû-pa-ha (water-?)
light (day)	tá-la
lightning	tá-la=wi-pi-ki (light zigzag)
moon	mû-yô-û
mountain	tû-qi
mountain range	tû-tû-qi (mountains)
night	tó-ki-la
rain	yó-yaṇ-û
rainbow	táṇ-a-ka
river	pá-yû
rock	ó-wa
sky	tók-pe-la [8]
smoke	qi-íts-iṇ-û
snow	nû-va [9]

[1] *Hokyáṇapna*, footless woven leggings of cotton, later of wool; *ová-toßi* ("marriage-robe moccasins"), the white deerskin ceremonial leggings of women, including the moccasins to which they are attached.

[2] Cf. Aztec *metlatl*.

[3] *Tsókáokozu*, a large portable vessel, flat on one side so as to fit the back, and provided with two lugs for the attachment of the tump-line; *kûi-sivû* ("water cooking-vessel"), a symmetrical house jar, decorated, and of varying sizes; *kûi-pi* ("water place") an undecorated house jar, always of large size.

[4] Cf. *távu*, cottontail rabbit.

[5] Spanish.

[6] *Tówa*, sun, and possibly *ɨpɨo*, here.

[7] *Tówa* is also used in the sense of soil, just as we employ "earth." *Tówa-kaßi* ("earth life") is used in the larger sense, but mostly in ceremony and song.

[8] Cf. *tókila*, night. The words for night and sky are identical in some American languages.

[9] *Nówa*, snow, is not Spanish, in spite of the similarity in sound. It occurs in other Shoshonean languages that have not been exposed to Spanish influence.

star	só-hû
Gemini	ne-vĕk=so-hû (close-together star)
Morning-star	tál=so-hû (daylight star)
Orion	ho-tóm-kam-ú [1]
Pleiades	fso-vá-o-ta-kŭm (bunched)
sun	tá-wa
thunder	yóy=ŭ-mŭ-ki (rain noise)
water (in nature)	pá-hû
water (in container)	kú-yi
wind	hŭ-kyaṇ-ŭ

NUMERALS

one	sŭ-kya=a	fourteen	pak=na-lŏ-yŏ=si-kya-tŭ
two	lŏ-yŏ-mŭ	twenty	sŭ-nat
three	pá-yo-mŭ	twenty-one	sŭ-nat=sŭk=si-kya-tŭ; sŭ-nat=ni-kyaṇ=sŭk=si-kya-tŭ
four	na-lŏ-yŏ-mŭ (twice two)		
five	chĭ-vo-tŭ		
six	ná-va-yi	thirty	pá-yo=pák-tŭ (three ten)
seven	fsaṇ-a-ĕ	forty	ná-lŏ=pak-tŭ
eight	ná-na-lŏ (twice four)	fifty	chi-vó=si-kyi=pak-tŭ
nine	pĕ-vĕ	sixty	na-vá-yi=si-kyi=pak-tŭ
ten	pák-tŭ	seventy	fsaṇ-á=si-kyi=pak-tŭ
eleven	pak=sŭk=si-kya-tŭ [2]	eighty	na-nál=si-kyi=pak-tŭ
twelve	pak=lŏ=si-kya-tŭ	ninety	pĕ-vĕ=si-kyi=pak-tŭ
thirteen	pak=pá-yo-mŭ=si-kya-tŭ	hundred [3]	pa-qŭt=si-kyi=pak-tŭ

PERSONAL TERMS [4]

aunt, maternal		their brother, dual	pá-va=a-mŭ
my aunt	í=ṇŭ-ŭ (my mother)	their brother, plural	pŭ-mŭ-i=pá-va-a-mŭ
thy aunt	ŭ=ṇŭ-ŭ	vocative	í=va-va
his, her, aunt	yŭ-ŭ=ta [5]	brother, younger, my	i=tŏp-ko
vocative	í=ṇŭ-ŭ	chief	móṇ=wi
aunt, paternal		clan	wŭn-wa; ṇyá-mŭ [6]
my aunt	í=kya=a	doctor, herb	tŭ-hi-kya
thy aunt	ŭ=kya-a	female	wŭh-ti
his, her, aunt	kyá-a=ta	girl	ma-ná=ho-ya (maid small)
vocative	í=kya-a	initiate	kĕ-lĕ (sparrow-hawk)
baby	ti-pó-si	maiden	má-na
boy	ti-yó=ho-ya (youth small)	male	tá-ka
brother, elder		man	tá-ka
my brother	í=va-va	man, old	wŭh=ta-ka
thy brother	ŭ=va-va	medicine-man	pó-si=ta-ka (eye man)
his, her brother	pá-va=ta	mother, my	í=ṇŭ-ŭ
our brother	i-tá=pa-va		
your brother	ŭ-mŭ=pa-va		

[1] *Hotómakmŭ* ("like a string of beads") refers only to the Belt of Orion.

[2] In the terms for eleven to nineteen *pak-* (ten) may be omitted.

[3] Above four or five hundred, Hopi conception of number is vague.

[4] For terms of relationship see page 235.

[5] *Yŭŭ-ta*, for *ṇŭŭ-ta*.

[6] Neither word is the exact equivalent of clan. *Wáṇwa*, growth, appended to a clan name indicates a member of that clan. *Ṇyámŭ*, used in the same way, is a collective. In asking what clan an individual belongs to, one says, "*Óm himŭ wúṇwa* (you what growth)?"

people	sí-no-mû [1]	uncle, maternal, my	í=ta-ha
people, Mexican	Kás-ti-la [2]		
people, white	Pa-há-na [3]	uncle, paternal, my	í=na-a (my father)
person	sí-no	warrior	ka-lé=ta-ka
sister, elder, my	í=kö-ka	woman	wûh-ti
sister, younger, my		woman, old	wûh-ti=has=ka
(female speaking)	i=tôp-ko	youth	ti-yo
(male speaking)	i=sí-wa		

TREES

cottonwood	si-hô-vi	pine	lô-kö
hemlock	hék-pa	piñon	tû-vá-ö
juniper	hóʃ̌-ki	poplar	la-pû=sö-vi (grove cottonwood)
oak	qíṇ-vi	spruce (?)	sa-lá-vi
peach	si-páñi=cho-ki	willow	ka-há-vi

MISCELLANEOUS

autumn	tû-hû-wi-sa	shadow	kí-si-o-ni
booth, ceremonial	kí-si (shade)	shrine	tû-tûs-kya
breath	hík-si	small	
ceremonial meal	hóm=ṇûm-ni [4]	attributive	cha'-ka; hó-ya [6]
cotton	pö-sô-wi	predicative	chá-yo
dream	tû-mo-ku	soul	hík-si (breath)
food	nô-siu-ka	spring (season)	tá-möṇ-va
kiva	kí-va [5]	summer	tá-la-a [7]
large		tobacco	pí-va
attributive	wû-ko	totem	ná-tu-i-la (relation)
predicative	wû-yo-ka	turquois	ʃ̌hós=po-si (blue-eye)
substantive	wû-ko-ka	winter	tô-mö-ê
plaza	kí=son=vi (house inside place)	witch, wizard	po-wá-ka; qí-ta (excrement)
		witchcraft	te-á-laṇ-wa
pueblo	ki=ʃ̌ú-ki	year	yá-saṇ-wû

LUNAR CALENDAR [8]

1. Kél-mûya (*kélʔ*, initiate; referring to initiates of Wûwûʧimû, which occurs in this moon; *mûya*, for *mûyöû*, moon)
2. Kyá-mûya (*kyápsita*, to hold sacred; referring to the numerous taboos in Soyálaṇû, which takes place in this, the winter-solstice moon)
3. Pá-mûya (?-moon; a month for pastime dances and amusements)

---

[1] With special reference to Indians.

[2] Spanish.

[3] *Pahána*, a corruption of *Americano*.

[4] *Hóm*, the act of tossing meal in supplication; *ṇûmni*, cornmeal.

[5] *Kíva*, probably from *kihû*, house, and *páhû*, spring. The analogy between the subterranean cell and the crater-like depressions in which most Hopi springs are found is evident.

[6] Plural, *cháchak*. Unlike most attributive adjectives, *hóya* is a suffix.

[7] Cf. *tála*, daylight.

[8] The Kél-mûya moon, corresponding roughly with November, is regarded as the beginning of the new year; therefore at this time the fraternity chiefs renew their *típoni*, and in Wûwûʧimû new fire is kindled.

It will be observed that there are six winter moons (1 to 6) and six identically named summer moons with the addition of a thirteenth moon (number 12) to fill out the solar year.

4. Powá-mûya (*powáta*, to purify ceremonially; the month for Powámû ceremony and the return of the Kachinas)
5. Ósô-mûya (*ósó*, the sound of whistling wind; masked Kachina dances nightly in the kivas, and sometimes, but not always, the dance of the Water Bullsnake)
6. Qiyáö-mûya (*qíya*, windbreak; masked Kachina dances)
7. Hakíton-mûya (*háki*, to wait; referring to the fact that some in their haste prepare to plant, while the more cautious advise them to "wait"; masked Kachina dances)
8. Kêl-mûya, or Ûi-mûya (*ûya*, to plant masked Kachina dances)
9. Kyá-mûya (Niman Kachina dance, and usually the summer solstice)
10. Pâ-mûya (Snake or Flute ceremony)
11. Powá-mûya (ceremony of Lakón-wimi)
12. Höök-mûya (*höök*, gathering corn; Mazó-wimi and Owákûl-wimi ceremonies)
13. Ósô-mûya (pastime dances, such as Butterfly dance, a recent Rio Grande acquisition)

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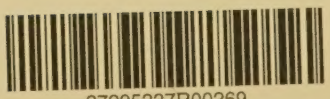

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